

IN THESE TIMES

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(Left) Tom Hayden discusses "economic democracy," the concept behind a new California political organization he and others are shaping. See page 5. (Photo by Robert Schaeffer)
(Bottom) Carter whittles away at the federal budget. See page 3.



IN THESE TIMES

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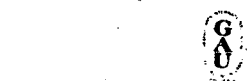
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NEWSFRONT

Public Obloquy?

Human rights

Secretary of State Cyrus R. Vance was testifying before Daniel K. Inouye's (D-Haw.) Senate Appropriations Subcommittee on Foreign Operations, preliminary to formally presenting the Carter administration's revisions of the Ford foreign aid requests for next year.

Vance had told the subcommittee that the Carter administration contemplated no "abrupt actions" that might endanger American relations with other countries. Inouye asked him whether this policy would extend to "some of our friends who have not maintained commitments to human rights."

"We have made some cuts in aid out of human-rights concern," Vance casually announced and specified Uruguay, Argentina and Ethiopia as three such "friends."

Vance's almost offhand announcement, which was concretized later last week when the Carter administration made their formal military aid request, broke with the policy on foreign and military aid followed by Ford and Kissinger.

Last year the Democratic Congress had passed an amendment to Ford's aid package forbidding assistance to "the government of any country which engages in a consistent pattern of gross violations of internationally recognized human rights..."

In an official response, the Ford/Kissinger State Department declared: "In view of the widespread nature of human-rights violations in the world, we have found no adequately objective way to make distinctions of degree between nations. This fact leads us, therefore, to the conclusion that neither the United States security interest nor the human rights cause would be properly served by the public obloquy and impaired relations with security-assistance recipient countries that would follow the making of inherently subjective United States government determinations that 'gross' violations do or do not exist or that a 'consistent' pattern of such violations does or does not exist in such countries."

► "Important" nations not punished.

Vance was quick to point out that other "more strategically important" nations—among them, South Korea, the Philippines, Brazil and Iran—would not be punished for their human rights violations.

South Korea and the Philippines are both seen as keys to American/Japanese domination of the Pacific rim region. Iran is a key oil-producing country and, besides Israel, the U.S.'s major Mideast ally. And the U.S. is presently trying to



"I called you in because I thought you'd like to be briefed on our current activities!"

work out an agreement with Brazil on the proliferation of nuclear weapons.

In addition, as a report from the Center for International Policy has pointed out, direct American aid through Congressional foreign aid appropriations makes up only 31 percent of total American foreign aid appropriations. The rest go through what Treasury Secretary Michael Blumenthal defended as non-political sources—among them the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund and the Import-Export Bank.

But though insignificant in substance, the cuts in military aid are large in their symbolism and in their potential effect on the rest of the world.

► A moral crisis.

Since late 1946, American administrations have based their foreign aid requests on the threat of Soviet-led world communism, whether the actual request referred to this purpose or not. The Vietnam war severely strained this coldwar ideology, and detente, along with the sight of a polycentric communist world, destroyed its use except as a rallying cry for a vocal minority.

As a result, many Americans who retained their democratic ideals but could no longer justify tactical expediences by the Soviet threat saw Kissinger's "new realism" as a sign of moral weakness and lack of purpose. In 1975, one Harris poll found 63 to 12 percent of Americans believing that the U.S. should not "back authoritarian governments that have overthrown democratic governments," a clear reference to American support of Alende's overthrow.

Seventy-three against 18 percent believed that it was "morally wrong for the U.S. to back a dictatorship that strips its people of their basic rights, even if that dictatorship will allow us to set up military bases in that country." This could apply clearly to South Korea, the Philippines, or Franco's Spain.

The Democratic Congress recognized this sentiment, and so did Carter, who spoke to it both in his campaign against Ford and in his first month in office. Carter's defense of freedom in Eastern Europe against Ford's disavowal of any Polish repression of human rights (a disavowal that was in line with Kissinger's "new realism") probably marked the turning point in the presidential race, coming at a time when Ford was rapidly closing Carter's early lead.

Through his outspoken advocacy of human rights, Carter will undoubtedly maintain his popularity at home in spite of his conservative economic policies. In the

short run, as long as the substance of foreign aid is not drastically altered, the Carter policies will also not spark great opposition abroad, even from governments directly attacked.

But Carter, like John F. Kennedy, also made a rhetorical break with his predecessor's policies, risks overextending himself ideologically. Not only do his statements provide the basis for attacking the substance of American foreign aid; they also encourage the forces of freedom around the world that will, in the end, threaten American world domination.

Takeover losses

In Great Britain, the ruling Labor Party has modified its bill to nationalize the aircraft and shipbuilding industries in order to win support of opposition politicians. The loss of bye-elections and division over the issue of autonomy to Scotland and Wales has destroyed the party's working majority in the House of Commons and forced it to compromise its program or risk defeat and a vote of no confidence.

The original bill had called for the state to take over the profitable ship-repair companies in addition to failing aircraft and shipbuilding industries. Such a takeover would have established a new precedent for labor, which had formerly used nationalization to socialize the losses of unprofitable industries.

Eurocommunists meet

Georges Marchais, Enrico Berlinguer, and Santiago Carillo, the leaders of the French, Italian and Spanish Communist parties, met last week in Madrid. The meeting, the first of its kind, was intended to show French and Italian support for the Spanish party's bid to become legalized.

Present Spanish law bans parties that are subject to international discipline or are intent on setting up a totalitarian state. The Communists, who have been banned under this law, want to be able to run their own candidates in next June's election.

The present government of Prime Minister Adolfo Suarez has refused to rule on the Communists' request and has instead referred it to the Supreme Court. Observers are not optimistic about the prospects of a favorable ruling from the Supreme Court.

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IN THE NATION

Carter's budget not enough

Carter's proposals show a caution and misdirection of effort so striking as to be incredible.

By Alan Wolfe

Jimmy Carter has submitted "his" budget to Congress. Given the fiscal realities of American politics, formal budgetary proposals tell us much more about the direction of the Carter administration than speechifying or image making. Carter has at times claimed that the budget is not his, that Ford prepared it and he only was able to make last minute changes. This is a political statement. The truth is that Carter is a meticulous political creature and that he has been planning his first budget since he received the nomination. In Carter's own words as he submitted the document to Congress, "these proposals do differ significantly from those of the previous administration."

Though there is still a tendency to view the dominant American parties as indistinguishable ("The difference between the Republicans and Democrats is the difference between syphilis and gonorrhea," feminist writer Rita Mae Brown said recently), Carter's budget is far different from what we have witnessed during the past eight years of Republican control over the White House.

There are definite trends for social spending to increase at the sake of defense spending. Inexpensive but humanitarian programs like child nutrition and food stamps are restored: the Republican move to cut child nutrition was one of the little publicized but revealing acts of the Ford presidency.

There are major alterations in revenue sharing, marking a trend away from block grants to the states in favor of federal planning. Disadvantaged groups are generally better represented in Washington than in the state capitols.

Finally, responsibility for jobs is shifting back toward government and away from the private sector. All these changes move in the direction of bringing American politics back to 20th century realities, away from the 19th century illusions of Nixon and Ford.

►Striking caution and misdirection.

But in evaluating how far Carter has gone in restoring some sanity to federal outlays, two things should be kept in mind. The first is that the social problems to which government is the only solution have been drastically increasing. Our cities, to take the most prominent example, are in far worse shape now than they were in 1968, with our largest city leading the list.

But at the same time, a second trend is that while this worsening was taking place, the Republicans over the past eight years were cutting back on the capacity of the state to respond to these crises. The result was a double-fisted attack on poor and disadvantaged people throughout the United States. In the face of the increasing seriousness of social decay and the decreasing willingness of government to respond, Carter's proposals show a caution and misdirection of effort so striking as to be incredible.

A glance at the nitty-gritty of Carter's proposals reveal how minimal his effort is. His defense plans, for example, represent an 11.4 percent increase over the current fiscal year. Not only were no substantial cutbacks announced, but the trend of defense to rise at a rising rate is continued. True, Carter cut from the Ford proposals, but the real comparison

is the previous budget, not what an outgoing, irresponsible President submitted in a vacuum. By the real criterion, Carter's budget is a deliberate negation of one of his more important campaign pledges.

In its details, the Carter budget actually increases defense spending in certain areas, particularly U.S. forces in Europe. Cuts are proposed in a wide variety of weapons systems (the B-1, the MX, the Minuteman III, the Navy's nuclear strike cruiser, and others). But none of these suggestions deal with the direction of defense policy.

The Carter budget represents an acceptance of the principle that defense spending must increase in times of peace. Better than Ford—yes, but better than what the American people deserve—never.

►Some will benefit, but promises not kept.

The butter side of the budget is somewhat more pleasing, but it also does not go nearly as far as it should. Title I funds under the Elementary and Secondary Education Act would be increased, as would outlays in federal college aid. Both programs will help poor people. Cuts which Ford made in work-study would be restored. There are also increases in grants for mass transit, in the extension of unemployment compensation and in money available for housing.

Carter has also made cuts in funds for the expensive and highly dangerous liquid-metal fast-breeder nuclear reactor, and he has eliminated income maintenance programs at a slower rate than Ford would have done.

These are important details, particularly in the field of education. Some people at the bottom of American class society will benefit as a result. But these proposals must be seen in the light of others which do not go far enough.

Health is a major disappointment. This is an area which Carter used during his campaign to raise hopes for federal action, though he carefully avoided specific promises. HEW proposals are based upon the idea of clamping down on rising hospital costs, limiting them to 10 percent a year. This is a policy of having no policy. It clearly offsets other plans to increase funds for child health programs, including diagnosis, medical treatment, and inoculation.

Similarly, the funds for mass transit are offset by increases in spending for highways and hospital construction, a welcome gift to the construction trades but a burden on just about everyone else. The last thing we need in America is another highway program.

Finally, the move away from nuclear energy is accompanied by increases in oil stockpiling programs, which are thinly disguised indirect subsidies to the large oil companies.

►What politicians believe.

On top of these limitations, the budget must be evaluated for what it did not propose. Besides the lack of a national health system, there is no plan for the fiscal crisis of the cities, no attempt to formulate a comprehensive child policy, no rethinking of education, no welfare reform, no proposals for defense conversion, and no strategy for urban transport. Of course, the

Continued on page 4.



Carter reneges on Pentagon promises

By Ken Brociner

Backing off from campaign promises to cut the military budget, scrap the B-1 bomber, and make human rights a central concern in U.S. foreign policy, President Carter has asked Congress for a record \$111.9 billion for the Pentagon for fiscal year 1978 (which covers the period Oct. 1, 1977, to Oct. 1, 1978).

Carter's decision represents a capitulation to pressures from the right and from the military contractors who since his election have been mounting a campaign about the Soviet arms threat.

During his presidential campaign, millions of Americans believed Carter favored a significant reduction in Pentagon spending. On the campaign trail, he pledged to cut \$5-7 billion. Carter's actual budget proposal doesn't even approach cuts in this range. Outgoing President Ford, in his budget submitted to Congress on Jan. 18, sought \$112.2 billion for military outlays for fiscal year '78. Carter's revisions to this would cut only \$300 million, for a total budget outlay of \$111.9 billion.

All in all, Carter is asking for an \$11 billion increase (in both outlays and budget authority) over last year's budget. Taking into account last year's inflation rate of 5.2 percent, Carter is proposing a six percent increase in the absolute size of the military budget—hardly a "cut."

Carter's budget request includes funds to produce five B-1 bombers. "The B-1 is an example of a proposed system that should not be funded and would be wasteful of taxpayer dollars," said candidate Carter on June 17, 1976.

Carter did say in his press conference of Feb. 23 that he was reviewing the B-1 and would make a final decision by June 1 on whether or not to proceed with full production of the 244 bombers requested by the Pentagon. Meanwhile, the Pentagon is proceeding, although at a slightly slower rate than they had hoped.

Over the last several months hardliners in Congress, the Pentagon and the intelligence community had been orchestrating a

systematic propaganda campaign aimed at influencing Carter, the Congress and the American public on issues of national security. Drumming up the spectre of the "Soviet threat," they successfully made it difficult for Carter to move towards a slowdown in the arms race or to make significant cuts in the defense budget.

►Opposition to budget.

The right, however, is not the only force organizing to have an impact on the defense budget and federal spending priorities. Although admittedly in a less powerful position to impose its will than the forces of the corporate right, forces that spearheaded opposition to the war in Indochina are now focusing on federal spending priorities.

Two of the more important national coalitions in this effort sponsored a conference in mid-February in Pittsburgh to focus their concern and develop a common strategy. Sponsored by the Stop the B-1 Bomber, National Peace Conversion Campaign and the Coalition for a New Foreign and Military Policy, the "National Conference to Stop the B-1 Bomber and Implement the Tranter Amendment" drew some 50 key organizers from around the country for three days of consultation and strategy mapping.

The Stop the B-1 Bomber, a coalition of 30 national organizations, has been working to end the B-1 program for more than three years. In addition to ending the B-1 program, its goal is "to expose and challenge the power relationship among the corporations, the military and the government; and create more public support for peace conversion—the redistribution of power so that decisions about the use of our resources are based on human need, not private profit."

The Coalition for a New Foreign and Military Policy, made up of 34 national organizations, is currently coordinating a campaign to cut off all form of U.S. support to repressive regimes and a campaign to secure passage of a "Transfer Amend-

Continued on page 20.

NATURAL RESOURCES

Carter's breeder-reactor budget cuts ineffectual

Photo from PNS

"While it is a setback from Ford's proposed spending level," says an industry rep, "it's also the first positive affirmation from Carter that we are going to have nuclear reactors."

By Steven Schneider
Pacific News Service

President Carter's budget request, submitted to Congress on Feb. 22, includes a significant reduction in the Ford administration's requests for the controversial fast breeder nuclear reactor program. Carter's request for \$656 million in budget authority was \$200 million less than Ford's, but only \$30 million less than last year's program. Neither supporters nor critics expect the cutback to have much immediate effect on the program, although an accompanying order for a full review of the program might pose more serious challenges.

Under Carter's proposed budget, the breeder would still receive nearly three times as much money as energy conservation efforts. And breeder funding would be more than seven times that for solar heating and cooling or geothermal energy.

During his campaign, Carter said the "amount of money we are presently spending for liquid metal fast breeder reactors should be drastically reduced." He received enthusiastic support from environmentalists who contend the breeder is a safety hazard and contributes to worldwide nuclear proliferation.

Thomas Cochran of the National Resource Defense Council, the leading opponent of the breeder, however, says Carter's proposed cuts "will not affect the momentum of the program."

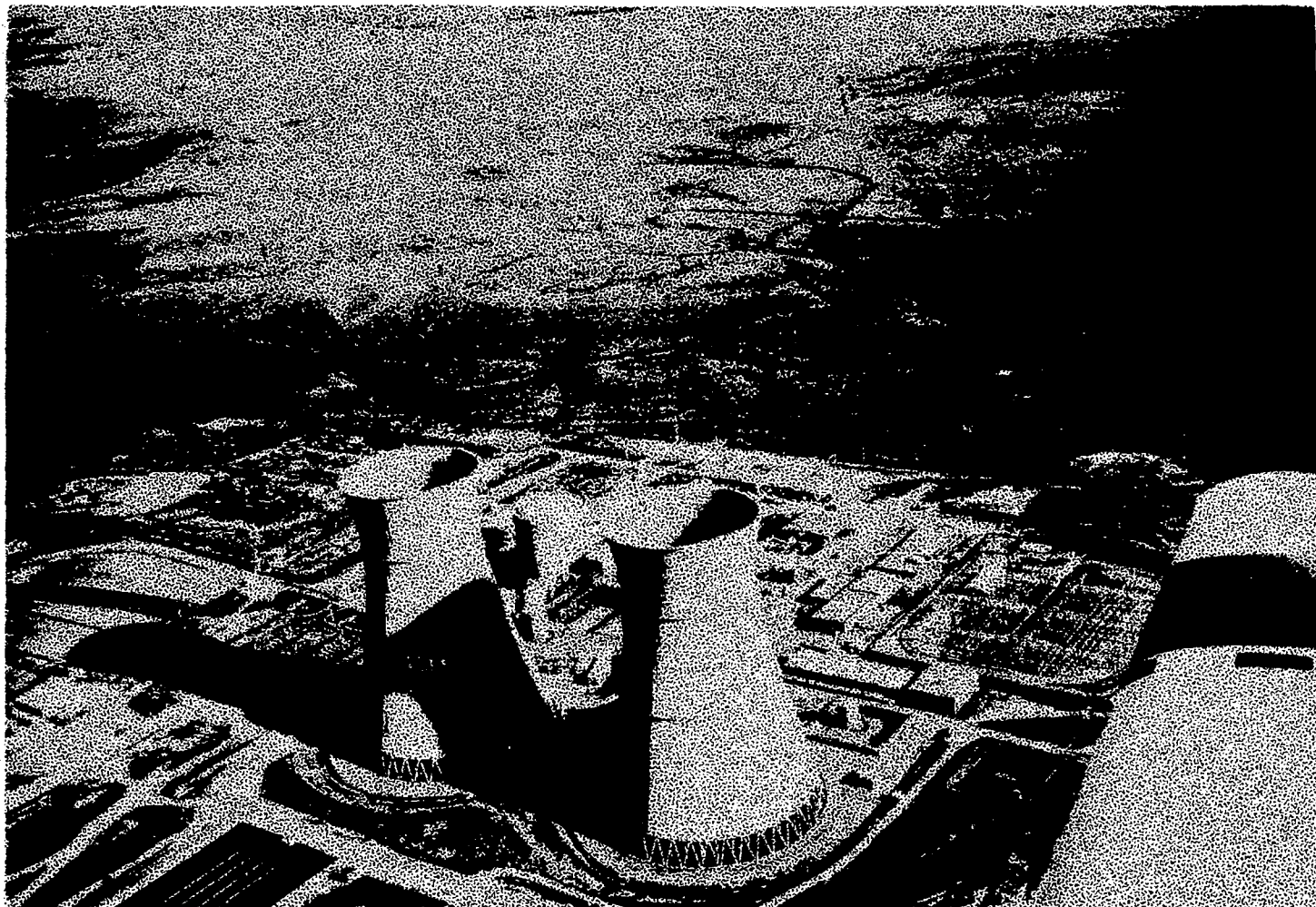
► **Industry doesn't see cuts as serious.**

Carl Walske, president of the Atomic Industrial Forum (AIF)—the nuclear industry's trade association—agrees "While it's a setback from Ford's proposed spending level, it's also the first positive affirmation from Carter that we're going to have nuclear reactors and even the breeder."

He believes that while Carter has had a "nuclear last resort" philosophy, his energy advisers James Schlesinger and John O'Leary "have been saying that even as a last resort we need it."

Stanley Ahrends, spokesman for the federal Energy Research and Development Administration (ERDA), also minimizes the importance of the budget cutback and Carter's order for a review of the government's Clinch River breeder demonstration plant in Tennessee. "The adjustments are primarily scheduling—They will not affect the overall program."

Ahrends still expects limited work on



The fast breeder, its supporters claim, is the key to the entire development of nuclear energy. Without its ability to produce plutonium the nation may well face a serious uranium shortage by the end of the century, forcing conventional plants to close.

the \$2 billion demonstration plant to begin on schedule in August. But, he says, the overall program looking ahead to the year 2000 will probably "be delayed approximately one year."

Doug Pewitt, a spokesman for the Office of Management and Budget, disagrees. "The administration is very serious in its intentions to reevaluate the breeder program," he says. "We've got to see how it fits in with the comprehensive energy policy that we have promised the American people."

The AIF's Walske, however, plays down the review, as do officials at the Clinch River plant. "We believe that when the project is reevaluated the decision will be the same as studies in the past—that the breeder program makes sense, that the Clinch River Project is the next logical step and should be gone ahead with," said information director John Haffey.

► **Key to nuclear future.**

Most supporters and critics of the breeder agree that if it is scrapped, the U.S. will seriously have to curtail its nuclear program. Without the breeder's ability to produce plutonium from the abundant uranium 238, many believe the nation will face a serious uranium shortage by the end of this century.

As Consolidated Edison's Jerry Stanbrough explains, "If you have to rely on uranium, nuclear [energy] becomes a consortium of utilities working with the government on the Clinch River plant."

Most experts agree the key test will be whether the administration decides to go ahead with the Clinch River demonstration plant following the review. The project is intended to test the safety and economic viability of the breeder reactor.

The administration statement on the breeder cutback raised concerns about the "dangers of nuclear proliferation" associated with breeder reactors and safety considerations. Plutonium produced by the breeder could be used to fashion nuclear bombs.

Another concern is that plutonium, if inhaled, is the most potent cause of lung cancer known to man. A recent Nuclear Regulatory Commission report, prepared by Dr. Stephen Hanauer, maintains that the dangers of a breeder reactors accident are real because the fuel is more highly compressed than in a conventional reactor. Physicist Amory Lovins, a prominent critic of the program, says the core of a breeder contains enough plutonium "to give lung cancer to everyone on earth."

The dangers of an accident are also enhanced by the type of cooling liquid used in the breeder—liquid sodium—a highly combustible substance that reacts violently with water. Critics say that a ruptured cooling pipe could lead to a fire which might set off a catastrophic core meltdown.

Despite these problems, the Energy Research and Development Administration concluded in a draft report last December that the breeder reactor represents "the potentially lowest-cost long-term option" among all developing technologies, including fusion, solar, geothermal and wind systems.

The report concluded that if plant safety and fuel cycle problems are solved, "the breeder reactor could gradually reduce the cost of electricity in real terms" and "bring costs back to current levels by about 2020."

Stephen Schneider is an energy expert with the Ford Foundation-funded Third Century America project and the University of California-Berkeley.

Weapon spread with breeders?

The worldwide spread of nuclear weapons-grade material may be the most worrisome legacy of the breeder reactor program, according to its critics. It takes just 13 pounds of reprocessed plutonium—the material produced by breeder reactors—to make a homemade nuclear weapon.

On the other hand, the type of fuel currently used in reactors requires massive enrichment plants costing billions of dollars before it can be turned into explosives.

If the U.S. reaches its goal of 30 breeder reactors by the year 2000, several hundred thousand pounds of plutonium would have to be reprocessed at special facilities each year. "Within a generation we should see the basic raw material for thousands of Nagasaki-sized bombs being shipped around the country every day," says physicist Amory Lovins. President Carter has called for strict international controls on the reprocessing of plutonium in the U.S. and elsewhere, and for an agreement to "prohibit completely, within the bounds of our capability, the expansion of the reprocessing plants in the countries that don't have it."

But critics worry that if the U.S. goes ahead with a breeder program, requiring an enormous reprocessing commitment, the credibility of its opposition to reprocessing abroad will be undermined.

J. Gustave Speth, an attorney for the Natural Resources Defense Council, says, "If plutonium is eventually used commercially, it will probably be impossible to stop the steady spread of nuclear weapons to other nations and terrorist groups."

Other countries with high-priority breeder programs include the Soviet Union, France, England and Japan.

Steven Schneider

Carter's budget

Continued from page 3.

Carter response will be that his people have not had time, that they were forced to work within the confines of the Ford proposals. This just is not a sufficient excuse.

The problems have been pressing for too long. The wishing that they did not exist has gone on too long. America has been allowed to decay at home in order to be responsive to imperial dreams abroad. The situation of minorities and the poor in this country is traumatic beyond belief. A direction could have been taken to tackle what has been going on in this country. The Carter budget, while reminding us how treacherous the Nixon and Ford years

were, does not yet establish that direction.

Budgets do not make for dramatic story telling. Examining program entries does not grab the imagination. But budgets do tell us what politicians believe when push comes to shove. This budget reminds us of two things, first that Carter could never have been elected without the support of blacks and working people and second that Carter will renege on his debts unless the pressure from them is kept up. For these reasons alone, we should examine with care the fate of Carter's fiscal plans as they move through Congress.

Alan Wolfe writes regularly for In These Times.

INSURGENT ELECTORALS

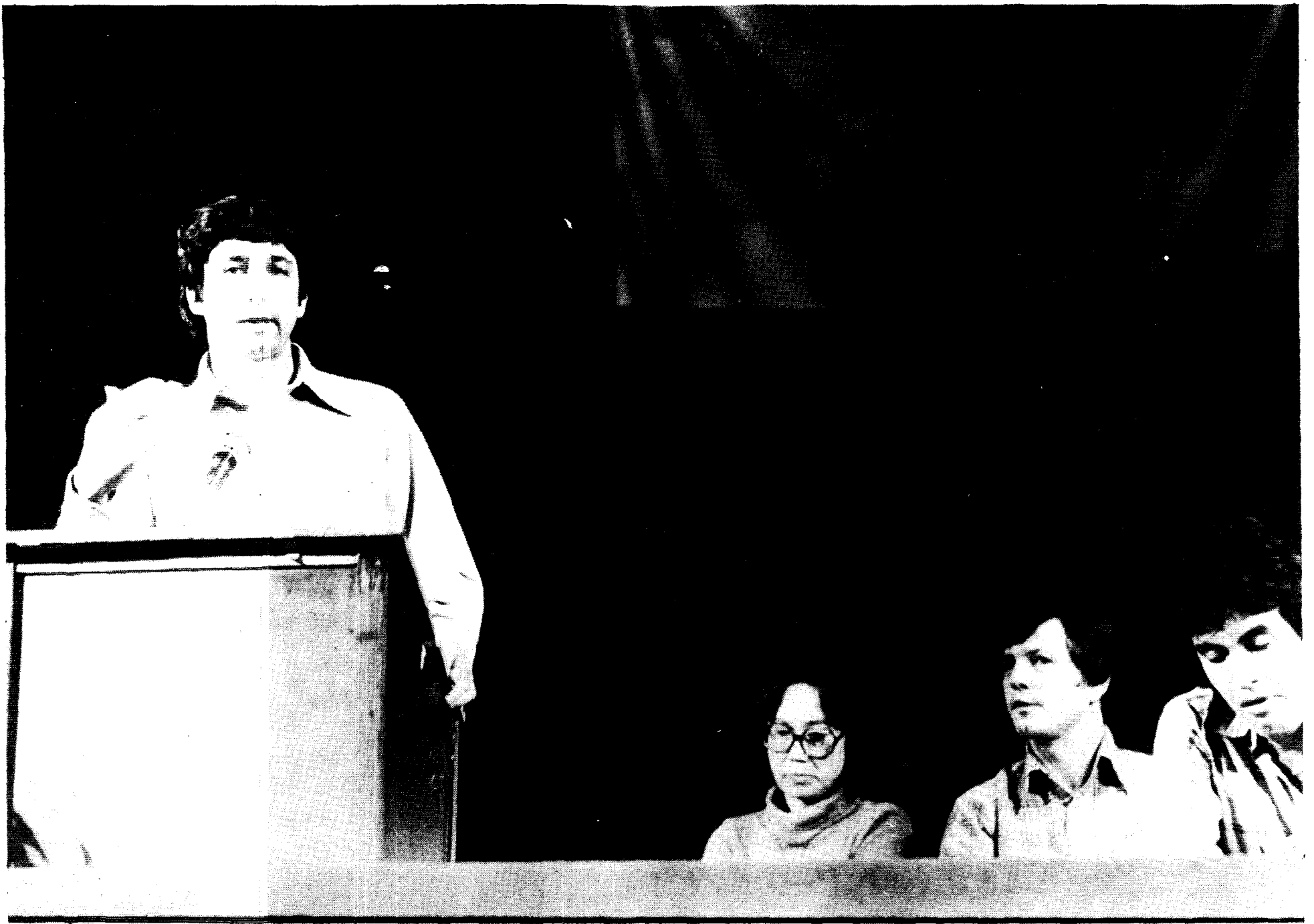


Photo by Sam Silver

Hayden forces meet to build political coalition— Looking to a new California majority

By Jill Breslau and Joel Parker
Bay Area Bureau

"By 1980 we can elect mayors in Oakland, San Diego and San Francisco, several state assemblypersons, and city council members in cities all over the state."

With that remark, Tom Hayden captured the intent to build a left political movement to contest for electoral power that permeated the Conference on Local Alternative Public Policy, held in Santa Barbara, Calif., Feb. 18-20.

The conference, attended by over 1,000 activists, was an impressive indication of the growing strength of the Campaign for

Economic Democracy (CED), the organization spawned by Hayden's unsuccessful attempt to win the Democratic senatorial primary last year. That campaign garnered Hayden over 1 million votes and signaled the potential mass appeal of an anti-corporate politics that called for the extension of democracy into all spheres of American life.

The purpose of the Santa Barbara conference was both to develop a "left legislation platform" on a wide range of issues and to forge a coalition of organizations that could work to implement that program.

►Coalition to overcome limited base.

Leaders of CED, who played a major role in organizing the conference, along with members of Berkeley Citizen Action (BCA) and planners of a previous conference on alternative public policy, opted for the coalition approach because of their recognition of the limited base of their membership. CED membership is heavily concentrated among students and young Democratic Party veterans of the McGovern campaign, somewhat reminiscent of the social base of the new left of the '60s.

The Santa Barbara conference was an

attempt to hold the network of current activists together while trying to recruit trade union and minority members into a broader, more socially diverse coalition.

The verdict is still not in on how successful this coalition-building effort will be. The conference attracted an impressive array of minority leaders—Ceasar Chavez, Calif. Rep. Ron Dellums and Lt. Gov. Mervyn Dymally all addressed the gathering. But the overwhelming number of participants were white, and it was un-

Continued on page 8.

Economic Democracy—new phase of struggle

Following are excerpts from a memo Tom Hayden wrote to workshop leaders at the Santa Barbara Conference. They provide some of the clearest explanations of the concept of economic democracy:

Is economic democracy too vague; shouldn't we be socialists?

In the twilight years of monopoly capitalist, there will be a new phase of popular struggle, rather than an immediate installation of socialism. This phase is when people start demanding a voice in decisions or demanding simply a larger share of the pie. It is not socialism—the public ownership of the means of production—but it represents the entrance of the public into the management decision-making process. It is a gradual process because it requires that the system be perceived as "failing" in the eyes of the majority. It will take a long time and will be marked by many ups and down...

Socialists should be part of this phase and struggle for economic democracy be-

cause they have a long-term outlook and will not be misled by any false concessions. Their short-term problem is how to participate in the practical daily work, especially electoral campaigns, without isolating themselves due to the label, which remains scary and confusing for most people.

What is our relationship to the Democratic Party?

We include people who are strong Democratic activists and independents. We participate in campaigns where we are looking for the Democratic vote, because it is the largest single vote in California, and because it represents workers, poor people, seniors, consumers, minorities. We run in Democratic primaries, and we also run independently at municipal or county levels. We participate in efforts to reform the Democratic Party as much as possible so that we have a form and a legitimacy. But we remain organizationally independent, not loyal to whatever

type leadership control the party. We are becoming an independent political movement with our own program and structure. Whether the Democratic Party is reformed or divides, or a multi-party system evolves, is presently beyond any prediction. We must be ready for any eventuality.

What is economic democracy?

Economic Democracy should be defined first, as a goal—the people should have a voice in the economic decisions affecting their lives, instead of corporate monopolies and intertwined government agencies making those decisions. And that the priorities of this society should reflect the needs of the majority instead of a privileged few.

Second, economic democracy can be defined as a program—a series of reforms that would shift both priorities and decision-making power...

Third, economic democracy is a stra-

tegic concept, able to unite a majority versus the vested interests.... It is not "more of the same" liberalism, because it goes beyond anti-trust, regulation and welfare, to raise more basic questions of "who decides" and "government for who".... It is a bridging concept that liberals, non-ideological reformers, populists and socialists can share in the present period.

Fourth, economic democracy is an organizational notion. It is intended as a common basis of direction for many distinct movements. The single issue movements can and should remain focused on their particular issues. But they can also raise consciousness around a vision of economic democracy through their day-to-day work.... Economic democracy is thus a basis for coalitions, including political campaigns, where a unifying concept can bring together many elements and be expressed to the voters through the candidates' speeches, media and leaflets. ■

LABOR

Illinois miners defy court and company

By Dan Marshall
Staff Writer

Carbondale, Ill.—Feb. 24. The Birdcage is one of a string of small taverns that dot Route 51 in Southern Illinois. Just north of De Soto (pop. 950), it is situated right in the heart of the state's rolling, mine-scarred hills—hills that yielded 58 million tons of coal last year.

The Birdcage was unexpectedly crowded for a sunny, Wednesday afternoon. Its dimly-lit and sparsely furnished interior was packed with men displaying their "United Mine Workers of America—Safety First" caps and "Illinois Coal is UMW Coal" jackets. They were cooling off after a meeting of several hundred miners in De Soto Community Park where union officials read a temporary restraining order that legally impelled them back to work.

This is the tenth day of a wildcat strike in the Illinois coal fields that has idled some 9,000 miners and shut down 35 mines. The atmosphere in the area was tense. Reporters with cameras and tape recorders were about as welcome as oil ministers from Saudi Arabia, since the miners considered the press universally hostile to their cause. The coal companies maneuvered, the courts enjoined, and the miners went about their business—coordinating roving pickets to keep their coal production at a standstill.

When the afternoon shift rolled around, pickets were still out in force and the local newspaper screamed the news—"MINERS DEFEY COURT ORDER."

Little of this hostile atmosphere seeped into the Birdcage, however, as miners gathered around a cluster of formica tables, played pool, and smoked until a dense cloud hung over the scene like coal dust. Working furiously behind the bar was Mrs. Robert Spain. She and her husband had leased the tavern six months earlier to supplement his income as a welder at Consolidated Coal's newest surface mine—Burning Star #5 near De Soto.

Mrs. Spain was handling the bar while her husband kept a doctor's appointment. He learned today that his two-week-old sickness was pneumonia. Bob's conversation with *IN THESE TIMES* was also punctuated with what he called a sinus problem, the result of 12 years of breathing fumes not screened by a welder's metal mask.

►Absentee rules at issue.

"Consol #5" opened in June 1976, and Spain started work there in September.

Settlement

About 11,000 southern Illinois miners returned to work last week, ending a 16-day strike over new absentee rules posted by Consolidated Coal Co. After a 12-hour, all-night meeting, the company announced last Tuesday that it was dropping the controversial absentee policy and would go by the terms of the 1974 contract between the United Mine Workers of America (UMWA) and the Bituminous Coal Operators Association (BCOA).

The company's decision came after some 1,000 miners had packed the corridors of the Chester, Ill., courthouse where a contempt of court citation was issued ordering them back to work in 48 hours.

"We feel this is a big victory," says Don Carson, former president of the UMWA Local where the strike started. New company guidelines on absenteeism are so lenient that one UMWA official hopes they will be part of the contract negotiated later this year. If a worker's absentee rate exceeds 19 percent—60 days per year—the company will call him in for a talk, Carson says.

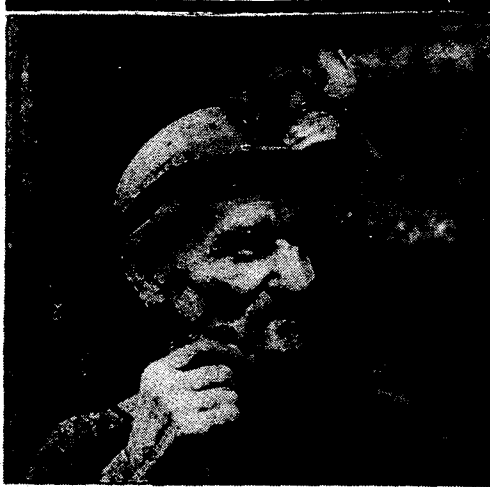


Photo by Earl Dotter

I wonder why Mr. Miller doesn't do anything. . . To my knowledge, Miller has not taken this up with the BCOA. I think there are some politics at play, though I don't know the full story. We're all United Mine Workers. . .

The wages are good—between \$16,000 and \$18,000 per year—but the work is dangerous and requires a high level of skill and experience. "We work up high, on big machinery, where there are lots of fumes and grease. The equipment is not really serviced like it should be. They would have to hire more men to do that. You can't go in there with a headache or being sick and expect to stay alive," he explains.

When the mine opened, Consol outlined absentee rules different from those negotiated in the 1974 contract between the UMWA and the Bituminous Coal Operators Association (BCOA). The contract says that a worker can be dismissed if absent without permission over a two-day period, except for a proven illness. The Consol procedure allows the company to fire a worker for three unexcused absences within 360 days.

Spain was hit with a three-day suspension earlier this year when he overslept and missed the second shift. On Feb. 13, the night before the strike began, he called in sick. The next morning he was suspended for five days. "I think they were using me as an example. They were putting a little wood on the fire and trying to agitate the men," Spain believes.

►A frequent source of conflict.

The 170 miners at Consol #5 needed little agitating by that time, however. The absentee policy had been a frequent source of conflict. Wildcat strikes occurred monthly, often in support of a fellow worker who was suspended. On the morning of Feb. 14th the miners demanded that management revoke the policy. When they refused, the miners went home and have been home ever since.

The company first obtained an injunction. As the strike spread throughout southern Illinois, they requested a contempt of court citation. As required by law, union officials had ordered the men back to work. They didn't go. Half the miners in the state were not working, since they refused to cross picket lines that appeared in front of the mines.

If Consolidated Coal forced this policy down their throats, the miners were certain that other companies would do the same. Freeman Coal Co. had tried on Feb. 1st. A 10-day wildcat had forced them to retreat and pull their new absentee regulations.

"We feel very strongly that they're breaking the contract," comments a miner at Consol #4 who belongs to UMWA Local 1825. "If this policy is let go, what's to keep other companies from instituting it?" Consol #4 has a slightly worse absentee record than #5, he says, and the superintendent has already threatened to adopt the new policy.

►Could show up in contract if not stopped.

Among miners at Consol #5 feelings run high about the rules and the company's screw-the-contract attitude. "There are lots of times when a man feels bad and just can't go to work," says Bob Spain. "Why is it their right to tell you when you are or are not sick? If it's not in the

'74 contract, how can they just force it on you? With this policy you could have car trouble and they could fire you."

Spain, whose five-day suspension was dropped after he submitted a doctor's note, has come closer than others to getting fired by the new rules. "I've gotten excused absences so far," another miner complains, "but I have a son who has to be taken to the hospital several times a month. And I'll be damned if that coal company means more to me than my son."

The miners also believe that the policy will show up in the new contract if it is not stopped here. "If it starts in one place, where will it end?" asks Don Carson, former president of Local 2216 at Consol #5. "A majority of the men at these meetings feel like if the policy is already established, the company will never bargain for it this winter."

Carson views the wildcat as the culmination of a long train of abuses heaped out by the management of Consol #5. A few days before the strike began, he resigned his union office because the company had "used" him on a number of occasions.

►Running battle with management.

"There was a running battle between management and the local union about this policy from the beginning," Carson told *IN THESE TIMES*. "Each time a man is off work, he's issued a pink slip. You have to know two hours ahead of time if you're not going to work. Or the superintendent has to write that you are excused. This is basically my whole problem with the policy—the superintendent should not have the sole right to decide on this matter. He has the whole say-so about it."

Carson recounts three separate instances where the company lied to him about job classification, work rules, and the "turnsheet," which lists miners who work first because they have fewer hours. The miners once walked out over where they could eat their lunches and whether a scraper was being operated too fast for road conditions. The superintendent told Carson that the company would negotiate the matter if he got the men back to work. After the miners returned, the superintendent refused to discuss it further.

►Strikes undercut Miller's credibility.

As the strike mushroomed, the company placed the blame on internal hassles in the UMWA and on the upcoming fight for union presidency. "What's going on here is an internal union problem," one coal company official told the *Chicago Tribune*. "There's no one in command of the union, and with the election and contracts coming up, there will be a lot more [labor strife]."

"I know the coal companies have been saying that," comments Norman Silvey, Recording Secretary of Local 2216. "They've jumped on the trouble in our international union and have tried to make this dispute into a political thing. But there's no connection whatsoever." Other miners say, however, that the strike may affect the outcome of the election. It

also indicates the importance of the right-to-strike issue.

Many miners in Illinois were bitterly disappointed with the 1974 contract, the first negotiated by reform president Arnold Miller. The Illinois District of the union rejected the contract. Don Carson, a UMWA member for 18 years, supported Miller in 1972 but voted down the contract. His father had been a miner for 35 years, so his backing of Miller caused considerable discussion in the family.

"The union just deteriorated under Boyle," Carson says. "Miller looked good and I figured anything would be better. When it came around to contract time, he didn't sound so good anymore." Carson is especially bitter that the contract integrated his district's separate agreement into the national contract.

►Giving more than getting.

"I think the men realized that we were giving up a lot more than we were getting. Not only in terms of money, but also benefits. We've always had separate agreements, left over from years of hard struggle. Some of the young miners don't even know about the District 12 agreements. And I felt like the companies were dang glad to get rid of them," he explains.

How has Miller reacted to the current wildcat? "I wonder why Mr. Miller doesn't do anything. The union presidents went to Washington to ask him if this strike wasn't national in scope and ought to be handled through the Executive Board. I understand one person at the BCOA (Bituminous Coal Operators Association) says this policy is negotiable. So do some Consol people. And Miller has the right to open up negotiations," Carson says.

"To my knowledge, Miller has not taken this up with the BCOA. I think there are some politics at play, though I don't know the full story. We're all United Mine Workers, but he says this strike is not national in scope. I don't understand his reasoning," he explains.

►If he didn't help?

Will Miller's inaction further damage his credibility? "Well, if you needed help, paid your dues as a miner, and thought in your own mind that you were being used [by the company] and asked him for help and he didn't give any and didn't declare that he was going to, how would you feel?" asks Carson. "I'm not saying anybody else would do better, but it makes you think."

"This strike is a bad thing. Harry Patrick has stayed out of it too. The companies are taking a hard stand on this and nobody wants to get involved," he continues. (UMWA Secretary-Treasurer Harry Patrick, a former Miller supporter, is running against Miller for the presidency this year.)

"There's obviously a power struggle going on," says another miner who backed Miller in 1972. "Miller should at least be able to stop campaigning and send a personal representative to check out the situation."

Wildcats like this one in Illinois have been frequent under the Miller administration in rebellion against companies violations of the 1974 contract. At the last UMWA convention, delegates voted to make the local right to strike a prime bargaining demand. Observers are virtually certain of a coal strike this December when the contract expires.

Don Carson is sure there will be a strike. "I would bet on the possibility of a nationwide strike this winter," he says. "I don't know how long it will be. If they let everyone vote on it like they did last time, it'll run for four to six weeks—until people run out of money."

The southern Illinois wildcat is one measure of the miners' commitment to win the right to strike over local grievances. "I've heard talk from the other men that they're going up north to pull the rest of the mines out," says Bob Spain.

THE CITIES

Busing and bicultural programs at issue in L.A.

Even as the Los Angeles integration battle intensifies, the actual ethnic makeup of the school district is changing. ... The education problems arising from these demographic changes are immense. The biggest problem is the inability of the schools to communicate across barriers of language and culture. Ironically, what programs there are to bridge this gap may be thrown into question by the possibility of widespread busing.

By Dennis Levitt

Los Angeles. In March, a Los Angeles Superior Court judge will begin holding hearings on plans to integrate this, the nation's second-largest school district. Beyond the problems of racial tension are busing in a city which covers 464 square miles, Los Angeles is also confronted by a rapidly changing ethnic make-up. Spanish-surname children already comprise about a third of the district, and forecasters say they'll be a majority in a decade.

Last June, the California Supreme Court in a case coming from a lawsuit filed more than a decade ago by the American Civil Liberties Union issued an order forcing desegregation in the district.

Over the years, the school board has enforced a "neighborhood school" concept, whereby students attend classes close to their homes. Since most communities are strictly segregated, so are most schools.

Anticipating the Supreme Court ruling, the Board of Education established the Citizens Advisory Committee on Student Integration (CACSI) on Feb. 5, 1976. Made up of 114 people from community groups, official institutions, and industry, CACSI's mandate was to develop a plan to desegregate the 600,000 student school system. After nine months of work, CACSI adopted a plan calling for busing 62,000 elementary school children—half Anglo and half minority—this fall. Junior and senior high schools would be desegregated in subsequent years.

►Board had secret plan of its own.

But before the ink was even dry on the CACSI report, the board rejected it in favor of a more limited plan. It was widely believed (and somewhat substantiated) that the school district staff had been developing the board's alternate plan in secret, even while CACSI was holding its deliberations.

The board plan calls for 4th, 5th and 6th graders to be transported to integrated "learning centers" for one nine-week period each year. Children in kindergarten through 3rd grade would be excluded; 7th through 9th grade students would attend the learning centers for nine weeks a year beginning in 1978-79, and high school students would follow in 1979-80.

Opposition to this grew quickly, even on the board itself, where Diane Watson, the only black on the board, vowed to submit the CACSI plan to the Superior Court. Minority community leaders, the teachers' union, organized labor, and others blasted the board's proposal as a "sham," a "farce" and a "smokescreen for racism."

►Courts likely to decide.

In addition to the board plan and the CACSI proposals the court will consider a plan submitted by a grass roots teacher-parent group calling itself the Integration Project. Their plan calls for a major commitment to busing so that each school will have an Anglo population of 35 to 45 percent. (Anglo enrollment district-wide is currently 40 percent.)

It is likely that the final plan for desegregation in Los Angeles—the largest school district ever to undergo court-ordered desegregation—will have to come from the courts. Some say that is exactly what the school board would like.

Dr. Robert House, executive secretary of the board's Black Education Commission, says the board members want to "get off the hook."—"They feel that if the court accepts it [their plan] then the ACLU will appeal to the state Supreme Court and if the state Supreme Court throws out the plan and sends it back to the lower court, then the board is off the hook and they can say, 'we didn't do it.' And if the court develops its own plan, the board also says, 'we didn't do it.'"

What the court might rule is unclear. There is no precedent for a court accepting a desegregation plan that provides for only limited, part-time transfers of students to reduce racial imbalance. At the same time most desegregation rulings have been in federal courts and the L.A. case is being contested in local courts. (The California Supreme Court based its original decision on the equal protection clause of the state constitution, not the U.S. Constitution.)

Further, there isn't even a judge sitting in the case now. Superior Judge Parks Stillwell withdrew in January after his impartiality was questioned by the ACLU. So far, lawyers on all sides have been unable to reach a consensus on a judge they would accept. It's unusual that lawyers get to choose their own judge, but Presiding Judge William Hogoboom has encouraged the prior approval "because of the overriding public importance in the case."

►Racial makeup of schools changing.

But even as the Los Angeles integration battle intensifies, the actual ethnic makeup of the school district is changing. Anglo enrollment has declined to 40 percent, while the Hispanic population has climbed to 31.5 percent officially, and 38 percent unofficially. The latest survey of kindergarten children shows a 45 percent Hispanic population, and projections show an overall Latino majority within a decade.

The education problems arising from these demographic changes are immense. The school system is already failing to meet the needs of its Spanish-surname students. Graduation rates for the four barrio high schools range from a high of 77 percent down to 55 percent. Barrio teachers say the classes are too large, the materials are inadequate, and the curriculum isn't meaningful to the students. As a result, "students are leaving school with a 5th to 7th grade reading ability only to join that large, unskilled, unemployed segment of our population. There are simply no jobs available to them," says barrio teacher Brian Wallace.

►Language and cultural barriers.

Rev. Vehac Mardirozian, director of the Hispanic Urban Center and co-chairman of the Chicano subcommittee of CACSI, says the biggest problem "is the inability



Photo by Robert Schaeffer

of the schools to communicate across barriers of language and culture to the Mexican-American community."

School figures indicate there are some 90,000 non-English-speaking (NES) and limited-English-speaking (LES) students in the district—unofficial figures show it could be significantly higher. Upwards of 90 percent of these students are Spanish-surname, with the remainder predominantly Asian.

The best way to teach non and limited-English-speaking students is with a program of bilingual-bicultural education. Students are taught in their native language while they learn English. The bicultural component allows them to maintain their cultural heritage. The U.S. Supreme Court in *Lau vs. Nichols* ordered school districts to provide instruction and opportunity in a language understood by the student. Subsequent lower court rulings have interpreted this as support for bilingual-bicultural education.

Of the more than 90,000 non or limited-English-speaking students in L.A. city schools, only 21,000 are enrolled in such programs. Another 39,000 are enrolled in English as a Second Language (ESL) programs which provide the student an extra class studying English. (The *Lau* decision, however, concluded that ESL programs, by themselves, are insufficient for a non or limited-English-speaking student.) This leaves at least 30,000 students with nothing.

"Those children just get lost. They try to get what they can from the schooling, and try to pick up whatever English they can, but they start lagging in school, they can't read on grade level and they soon lose interest in school," says Tomi Ohta, a teacher in the barrio.

►Need outstripping resources.

Robert Rangel, head of the Bilingual-Bicultural-ESL Department for L.A. city schools, says programs are being developed as rapidly as possible. He points out that three years ago, when the programs began in the district, they identified only 56,000 needy students. A mushrooming Spanish-surname population is outstripping the growth of the bilingual-bicultural classes he argues.

There's a lot of controversy about the effectiveness of the programs now in place. While Rangel and other district officials praise the curriculum and its implementation, many teachers feel otherwise. Common complaints are that there is poor communication between the coordinators and specialists and the teachers in the classroom, that in-service training and orientation is lacking and that materials are inadequate. One teacher said some bilingual classes aren't even taught in two languages because the instructor, granted the position on a "waiver permit," isn't knowledgeable in Spanish.

But no one questions that the existing programs are a step forward from a few years ago. And it is protection of these programs that has many leaders very wary of integration. Although the school board, the district administrators and CACSI all say that any integration plan will protect the bilingual programs, many Latinos are leery, and say that integration is not as important as getting better teachers, materials, and schools in the barrio.

Dennis Levitt is a free-lance writer in Los Angeles.

Undersea mining at issue with new law of sea

By Stu Cohen
Pacific News Service

Long-stalled negotiations over the United Nations Law of the Sea Conference resumed Feb. 28 with an informal meeting in Geneva to try and break a deadlock over how to control exploitation of the ocean's mineral wealth.

Billions if not trillions of dollars worth of nickel, cobalt, manganese and other mineral substances lie in spongy, potato-sized nodules on the ocean floor. The issue of who "owns" or has the right to exploit them is now considered the last and most formidable hurdle in the more than 10-year effort to work out a set of international rules governing use of the open seas, their straits, coastal areas and floors.

U.S. delegate Elliot Richardson attended the Geneva meetings, called by Norway to pave the way for the next full conference meeting in New York in May. Observers say that progress is imperative on the seabed mining issue before the New York meeting to avoid endangering the entire agreement.

At the last full session, concluded in New York last September, the issue sparked angry debate not only between the industrialized and developing nations but also between landlocked states and those with access to the sea.

Bernardo Zuleta, UN Secretary General Kurt Waldheim's special representative to the conference, said in an interview that the Geneva "negotiations will have to be tackled by delegations in a more realistic way. I see no purpose," he said, "in waving ideological flags anymore or in trying to excel in procedural maneuvers."

"I hope [the meeting] will at least produce the effect of unfreezing the negotiations," he added.

►Technology only recently developed.

Most observers say that alone is a tall order. While seabed minerals have long been of academic interest, the technology to mine them has been developed only recently, making exploitation a practical concern in a world threatened by shortages.

According to Kissinger, "This country is many years ahead of any other in the technology of deep sea mining, and we are in all respects prepared to protect our interests. If the deep sea beds are not subject to international agreement, the U.S. can and will proceed to explore and mine on our own."

The new mining technology is itself a scarce resource. Only three companies are known to be ready to begin complete mining operations today. Two of them, Kennecott Copper and Deepsea Ventures, are U.S. based, and the third, International Nickel Co., is Canadian.

Companies in other industrialized nations want to enter joint ventures but cannot conduct complete operations by themselves.

Developing nations, which lack any of the needed technology, have so far managed to prevent mining operations by arguing that the free access rule of the "old" law of the sea would result in depletion of the minerals with all profits going to a handful of private companies.

This would conflict with the bedrock principle of the new Law of the Sea—the concept that the resources of the oceans are "the Common Heritage of Mankind."

All parties agree that the solution to equitable exploitation of the seabed minerals lies in creation of an International

Seabed Resource Authority (ISRA). But the developing and industrialized nations became deadlocked last year on how much authority it should have.

The developing nations, represented in the UN by the "Group of 77," want an ISRA with "direct and effective control" of ocean resources, exercising *de facto*

ownership of the deep sea beds. Under this scheme, ISRA would set quotas for the amount of resources mined in any given period. It would also have the power to impose a variety of conditions, including the mandatory transfer of technology to developing nations and training of their personnel.

►Industrial nations oppose quotas.

The industrial nations oppose giving ISRA the power to set quotas and conditions. Under their plan, ISRA would simply grant companies (or nations) licenses for specific seabed sites. In return, the companies would pay ISRA a portion of their profits, which would be divided among the developing nations and would also fund the Authority.

The setting of mining quotas is especially vital to the developing nations because uncontrolled mining and processing nodules could threaten the current market for land-mined copper, manganese, cobalt and nickel—all now largely controlled by the developing countries.

Zaire, for example, is the world's largest supplier of manganese. And Chile depends upon the sale of copper for the bulk of its export revenues. Similar situations exist in Gabon, the Philippines, Uganda, Ghana, Peru and Zambia.

The "Group of 77" proposals also call for greater sharing of the profits from ISRA-approved mining ventures.

Negotiations over the form of the ISRA collapsed last year, partly due to the threat of unilateral actions by the U.S.

In an additional action, Kennecott and Deepsea Ventures, both eager to begin mining operations, recently mounted an expensive lobbying effort behind a bill by Sen. Lee Metcalf (D-Mont.) to protect companies against an eventual sea law treaty that might affect their profits. The bill would provide protection against "any loss of investment or increased costs...incur within 40 years after the issuance of (a license to mine)."

Former Secretary of State Henry Kissinger backed up the threat of unilateral American action when he said in a speech last April that "this country is many years ahead of any other in the technology of deep sea mining, and we are in all respects prepared to protect our interests. If the deep sea beds are not subject to international agreement," he added, "the United States can and will proceed to explore and mine on our own."

It remains to be seen what the bargaining position of the new administration will be. But observers at the UN believe that unless some flexibility is shown by both sides, deep sea mining could begin before any regulatory power exists to oversee it. That possibility, they fear, could scuttle one of the most important tasks ever undertaken by an international body.

Stu Cohen is a Boston-based free-lance journalist specializing in foreign affairs.

Hayden forces meet

Photo by Robert Schaeffer



Continued from page 5.

clear as to the extent of future participation by the minority leaders who attended.

►Don't want internal hassles.

Dellums indicated the clearest support; Chavez expressed solidarity with the purpose of the movement, but added, "We will be the foot soldiers.... We don't want to deal with internal hassles, we want to be included in the direction of the issues and the central platform."

While the conference was unsuccessful in attracting a comparable list of labor leaders, it did bring together a number of leaders and activists of locals, primarily from Service Employees International Union and the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees. Progressive elected officials, like Loni Hancock of the Berkeley city council, Assemblyman Tom Bates, and San Francisco sheriff Richard Hongisto also played major roles.

How many of the organizations and individuals who attended will join the official coalition is still unsettled. The only definite participants at this writing are statewide CED, members of the conference planning committee including elected officials Loni Hancock and Albany City Councilman Mike Gleason, and Los Angeles New American Movement. CED alone has about 400 active members in 18 chapters throughout the state.

Delegates from these organizations, and others who join, will constitute a continuations committee of the conference, and will look into setting up a lobbying office in Sacramento. Their main task will be to push the legislative program developed at the 18 conference workshops, ranging from rent control to collective bargaining rights for public employees to developing solar energy.

►Hope for string of successes.

The CED's hope is that a string of successes can provide the cement necessary to bind the coalition and broaden its membership. Accordingly, the first post conference priority is to launch a statewide support effort on behalf of Sheriff Hongisto, currently under attack for his refusal to evict residents of the International Hotel in San Francisco. "We have to show that progressive officials who put themselves on the line will be supported by our movements," explained Laurie Bodendorfer, CED steering committee member from San Francisco.

Also targeted are the election of black Judge Lionel Wilson as Mayor in Oakland, support of the BCA slate and rent control in Berkeley, defending district elections in San Francisco, Ruth Yannata's campaign for assemblywoman in Southern California, and several other local races in Chico, Santa Ana, Santa Barbara, San Diego, and Bakersfield.

The group is also acting on a request from Chavez to investigate the possible recall of state Assemblyman Tom Suit from San Bernardino-Riverside, who has been the legislative voice of opposition to the United Farmworkers and to implementation of the California Agricultural Labor Relations Act.

►What is economic democracy.

CED members say the group decides which electoral campaigns to support on the basis of the candidate's identification with principles of economic democracy.

Yet the question of what defines economic democracy haunted the proceedings. Is it just a more palatable way of saying socialism, is it a competing political philosophy or a transitional strategy?

Although organizers of the conference felt it was an unnecessary ideological debate—"It is the program we develop and work for that defines the movement, not what we call it" as one workshop leader put it—the question surfaced in various disguises. The most obvious manifestation appeared during the final plenary session.

A debate arose as to whether economic democracy means "the end of private corporate ownership" or "the end of control of our economy by giant monopoly corporations." On paper it seems a semantical distinction, yet both Hayden and Bill Zimmerman, a conference organizer, took the stage to successfully defend the latter formulation, underscoring their concern that the movement not be seen as an ultra-left attack on private property.

To some extent that debate obscured the programmatic implications of economic democracy's vagueness. As a participant in the controlling corporations workshop asked, "Do we really believe that by putting consumers on a corporation's board of directors, we'd achieve anything different?"

►How to create jobs.

The dilemma arose again in attempt to flesh out the demand for full employment. Paul Schrade, UAW organizer from Los Angeles, remarked in the labor workshop, "We stand for full employment, but we know that unemployment is built into the capitalist system, so who are we trying to kid?"

Hayden also grappled with the problem of job creation in his speech to the conference. He proposed that in addition to expanding the public sector, another approach would be to "attract socially responsible, labor-intensive as opposed to capital-intensive business into California."

Socialists at the conference, however, were generally sensitive to the difficulties of devising a realistic anti-corporate program. Dorothy Healey, member of Los Angeles NAM and long-time socialist ac-

tivist, explained that the decision to form a socialist caucus within the coalition in the future came not from a desire "to take it over, or superimpose our ideas upon the coalition, but because we are concerned with genuine problems facing socialists working within a non-socialist organization."

The CED Steering Committee, in a post conference sum-up, applauded "the absence of sectarianism or bitter infighting [which] showed the political maturity of people at the conference."

Perhaps the greatest danger facing CED is that in the absence of any clarity about the meaning of economic democracy the exclusively electoral strategy leaves the movement open to being defined solely by the candidates it supports.

Dellums, whose emotional speech electrified the gathering, stood as an example that the risks might be worth taking. His speech emphasized the need for a unifying political perspective, and he interpreted that to mean a far-reaching humanism that would demand the end of all oppressions—racial, sexual and class. It is a position that has moved him to an explicitly socialist politics.

Yet the conference could also applaud a cynical John Maher of Delancy Street, who offered that the real question was power at any cost—once you get the power, then you start asking to what end. That pragmatism, which perhaps more than anything else defines the movement for economic democracy, is perhaps both its greatest weakness and strength. It is a pragmatism that has accompanied the Huey Longs and the long list of self-proclaimed populist politicians who have ridden the anger and discontent of American working people to heights of self-serving power. But it is also a pragmatism that forces the economic democracy movement to test its ideas and intentions against the wishes and needs of real people, instead of the almost mythical working class that populates the landscape of so much of the sectarian left. It recognizes the centrality of the electoral arena in building an on-going, legitimate movement, and the tremendous organizing appeal of a strategy that demands the extension of democracy into the economic sphere.



South Africa's suspect suicides

"I think of those heavy, felted, iron-hard prison blankets and wonder how a man, lacking any sharp instrument, could tear one into strips and hang himself within two hours of being arrested."

By Hilda Bernstein

A man is taking a shower. He slips and falls. A few days later he dies. Three weeks later another man dies in similar circumstances, through injuries sustained after slipping on a piece of soap. Another man slips and falls down the last few steps of a flight of stairs. He lands on his buttocks and does not appear to be hurt; but eight days later he dies. Yet another man falls against a chair; soon he, too, dies. All of them died while being "detained."

In South Africa there are various laws that permit arrest and detention by the police without the necessity of any charge. The principal law is the Terrorism Act, Section Six of which authorizes any police officer to detain any person he believes is a "terrorist" or has information about "terrorists." Prof. van Mierkerk, professor of law at the University of Natal, has said that any act may become an act of terrorism. The Dean of Johannesburg, for example, was alleged to have committed an act of terrorism by providing a pair of spectacles to an old lady. Detention can be for an indefinite period and no court of law may pronounce upon the validity of any action taken under Section Six, nor order the release of any detainee.

Detention means the total and absolute exclusion of all contact with the outside world. The detainee is held in solitary confinement, incommunicado, without access to relatives, to lawyers or to the courts.

►Torture concealed.

The purpose of indefinite detention under such conditions is to practice—and to conceal the practice—of systematic torture. Such methods are justified as necessary for the security of the state.

From the time that detention without

trial came into general use (at first under the 90-day law, then the 180-day law, and now the Terrorism Act) until March of last year, there were at least 23 cases of unusual deaths while under detention. Since March, the number of deaths has accelerated and another 19 have died in detention.

Suicide by hanging is the most frequently reported cause of death in detention. It is routine in all South African jails to deprive prisoners of belts, shoelaces and similar articles of clothing when they are first brought into custody, and in the circumstances it might be thought difficult for those detained to be able to hang themselves. The means described are various. A Chinese, Ah Yan, was found hanging by socks from a waterpipe; one man was said to have hanged himself with his own jeans; another with a blanket torn into strips.

I think of those heavy, felted, iron-hard prison blankets and wonder how a man, lacking any sharp instrument, could tear one into strips and hang himself within two hours of being arrested. I do not know which is more terrible—to believe they died in the way the police say they died, the long incredible agony of a man strangling himself with socks on a pipe, the degree of despair that can make this possible; or to believe that death came in some other way than suicide by hanging.

►Banning the dead.

Looksmart Solwandle Ngudle, they say, committed suicide by hanging. His wife went to a lawyer and an inquest was held. Then the dead man was banned. [Eds. note: Under the 1950 Suppression of Communism Act, the Minister of Justice can "ban" opponents to apartheid. Banning prohibits a person from belonging to any association, from receiving visi-



Photos by Hilda Bernstein

(top) Students from Soweto demonstrate for the release of detainees.
(bottom) South African police stand guard in Soweto.

tors, teaching, etc. Banned persons are required to report to the police regularly and are restricted to certain towns.]

Why should the Security Police wish to ban, and thus silence, a man already dead? Because it then became illegal to publish any statement made during his lifetime, and witnesses that Mrs. Ngudle's counsel wished to call to testify to Ngudle's allegations to them of torture were also silenced.

Counsel withdrew in protest. At a later hearing the magistrate ruled that evidence of electric shock torture was irrelevant and refused to permit witnesses to appear. Ngudle—strong, cheerful, brave, out-going—hanged himself, said the court, and that death was not the result of any act or omission on the part of any person.

Alpheus Mailbe was a man of my generation—a tough, black peasant from the Northern Transvaal who came to Johannesburg and became a political organizer. When the organizations he served were made illegal, and too many were in jail, and he was getting old, he disappeared from political activity. He went back to his own locality; and was detained; and then was reported dead—suicide by hanging.

Mapetla Mohapi, 28, a university graduate and secretary of SASO (the black students' organization) until he was banned, was taken from his home in Kingwilliamstown in August of last year. Mohapi was a man of great inner resources, confidence and commitment to his cause. According to the police, he hanged himself by his jeans.

Another brilliant student, a bursary-winner and Oxford graduate, Wellington Tshazibane, was detained under the Terrorism Act on Dec. 9, and two days later his family was informed that he was dead—suicide by hanging.

James Titya, Ah Yan, J.B. Tubakwe, James Lenkoe, Luke Mazwembe—the list is too long to record them all. Suicide by hanging.

An inquest was held on James Lenkoe's death. A pathologist testified to lesions and copper deposits on his skin, caused, he believed, by electrical burns. But the magistrate refused to allow counsel to bring witnesses testifying that Lenkoe had been given electric torture and refused to let counsel address the court on the evidence.

Continued on page 10.

South Africa

...Every accidental fall, jump through a window, or suicide by hanging conceals a number of terrible events...

►No one would be blamed...

Nicodimus Kgoathe, the man who slipped in a shower and died, officially died from bronchial pneumonia. A doctor told the court at his inquest that he appeared to be suffering from the after-effects of concussion and that Kgoathe's injuries were the result of an assault: linear marks on the shoulders, u-formed wounds, a wound on his eye. The magistrate said no one could be blamed for his death.

The magistrate in the case of Solomon Modipane, who sustained injuries after slipping on a piece of soap, found that death was due to natural causes and said no inquest was necessary.

The detainees died after jumping out of windows. Suliman Saloojee was being interrogated in a roomful of Security Police when he suddenly leapt up, called out "Goodbye, Sir!", ran to the window and propelled himself through before anyone could stop him.

As he lay on a parapet, dying, a policeman later testified that he heard another officer ask Saloojee why he did it, and Saloojee managed to say—twice—"Foolish, tried to escape" before he died.

Ahmed Timol, also said to have died by leaping through a window, was a young teacher whose death sent a shock-wave through South Africa. He was being interrogated in a sound-proof room on the tenth floor of the new police headquarters in Johannesburg, rooms that after Saloojee's death were supposed to be designed to prevent such suicides. A lengthy inquest made headlines for weeks, but despite evidence of extensive injuries caused by blows before his death, the verdict was death by suicide.

►Could it possibly happen?

A medical student, William Tshwane, was arrested in June last year with other Soweto students. In October his family was told that he had died on the day of his arrest. His body was buried and could not be exhumed. Cause of death—undisclosed.

Fenuel Mogatusi, another Soweto schoolboy, was said to have died of suffocation during an epileptic fit. His family said he did not suffer from epilepsy and had never had a fit.

Dumisani Mbatha was 16 when he was arrested last September. According to the police he became ill in prison, was moved to hospital and died. 15,000 mourners attended his funeral. Police opened fire on the mourners, killing seven.

Luke Mzawembe was said to have hanged himself two hours after his arrest. Ernest Mamasila, hearing that the police were looking for him, voluntarily presented himself to them; some time later he was dead—suicide by hanging.

George Botha, a biology teacher, died five days after being detained. "He jumped down a staircase well next to the lift," sated the police.

Edward Mzolo, who died at Johannesburg Fort last October, was the third to die in detention at the Fort in two weeks; the cause of his death was never disclosed.

Joseph Mdluli died by the application of force to his neck; four members of the Security Police were charged with culpable homicide. They gave evidence that after an earlier scuffle he suddenly stood up while being interrogated, staggered, fell hitting the back of a chair with his neck or chest and died an hour later. In spite of the evidence of forensic experts that his injuries included a fractured cartilage, extensive bruising on neck, forehead, scalp and body, and three fractured ribs, and that he appeared to have been dead much longer than the period suggested, the four police were acquitted.

The Judge President of Natal, who had heard the case, said there was a conflict in

the evidence of police and doctors. If the police evidence was to be accepted, the four accused had left the room half an hour before Mdluli died. "If he had died of these injuries in the morning after a scuffle with the four accused, all the policemen in the building would have had to enter an elaborate conspiracy to conceal his death till that evening. The court could not accept that such a thing could possibly have happened."

►A conspiracy.

A conspiracy surrounds every single death in detention and the truth for most of them will never be known. For every accidental fall, jump through a window, suicide by hanging, conceals a number of terrible events in which an increasingly large circle of people play a part. Like ripples the circle extends and extends, and its outer edges touch every single white person in South Africa.

Many of those who die in detention have in the past survived prolonged detention and interrogation; and some have served prison sentences on Robben Island. As I write this, I add a new name to the list, that of Lawrence Ndzanga, formerly secretary of the Railway and Harbour Workers' union. He and his wife Rita were both detained in January of this year. It was not the first time.

They were both detained in May 1969 and for nine months they, and more than 20 others, were held incommunicado. During that period three died in detention: Michael Shivute on the night of his detention, death by suicide; Caleb Mayekiso, 19 days after being detained, cause of death unknown; and the Imam Abdullah Haron, four months after being detained, from a fall down some stairs.

After nine months the Ndzangas were charged and tried, but the state withdrew the indictment. They were acquitted and discharged, and then re-arrested and once more held in detention.

Relatives of those re-detained sought to obtain a court order to restrain the police from assaulting or torturing them and supported their application with affidavits they had given when they were still on trial.

►"Girl, you must talk."

Rita Ndzanga: "Major Swanepoel called me by a name. I kept quiet and did not reply.... Day and night is the same in this room because of the thick heavy planks covering the windows.

"I remained standing. It was late at night. One policeman came round the table and struck me. I fell to the floor. He said 'Staan op' and kicked me."

She was taken back a second time for questioning, then a third. They hit her. They made her stand, without shoes, on a pile of bricks, pulled her by her hair, dropped her on the bricks. "I fell down... the same man pulled me up by my hair again.... His hands were full of my hair. He washed his hands in the basin." She stood on the bricks, but when she fell off again they hit her. "They poured water on me. I could not stand the assault any longer. They said 'Meid, jy moet praat!' (Girl, you must talk.)"

Lawrence Ndzanga told how he was made to stand on the bricks for prolonged periods, that Maj. Swanepoel refused to let him go to the toilet and he was forced eventually to pass water where he stood.

But Mr. Justice Theron ruled the applications as being not urgent and thought the three men who had died in detention had died from natural causes.

The second period of detention in solitary confinement lasted for 5½ months; they appeared in court once more; and after several weeks of argument were again found not guilty. They were then banned for five years.

Some time last year, both Rita and Lawrence Ndzanga were arrested again, detained, interrogated. Both were to be charged under the Terrorism Act. Rita is still in jail and has been charged. Lawrence, according to the police, collapsed and died in January.

Hilda Bernstein was a journalist in Johannesburg until she and her husband were imprisoned by the government because of her anti-apartheid activities. She now lives in London.

NATO rescued by Soviet arms scare

It is scarcely surprising that a period in American foreign policy marked by "strengthening of traditional alliances" should be accompanied by a campaign of alarm over the "Soviet military threat" several decibels higher than has been heard for some time.

By Diana Johnstone

Paris. What are NATO and the Warsaw Pact really for? At the start their ostensible function of defense against attack from each other was probably their primary function. The function of holding together their respective political and economic blocs may well have been secondary. But with the passage of time, that secondary function has surely become primary.

For many years now it has in practice been the only function. It has been seen blatantly in military intervention in Czechoslovakia; it has been keenly felt as a powerful inhibition on the Italian left. Since this secondary function by now considered indispensable by both the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. to the defense of their interests, cannot be openly admitted for political reasons, the primary function must be kept alive in the rhetorical level.

It's therefore scarcely surprising that a period in American foreign policy marked by "strengthening of traditional alliances" should be accompanied by a campaign of alarm over the "Soviet military threat" several decibels higher than has been heard for some time. Harder times and growing skepticism might make the American public more reluctant than in the past to give the shirt off its back to feed the insatiable military industrial complex, so Congressmen must be provided with patriotic excuses to vote huge appropriations by authoritative bodies such as the "Committee On the Present Danger" backed by the pessimistic Pipes report.

►Standardizing Europe.

From the French point of view, one of the purposes of this latest campaign was especially obvious. One of the themes of the American alarmists, French observers noted, was that NATO suffers from the major weakness of "arms incompatibility" and thus must rush to achieve "standardization" of military equipment in order to preserve Western civilization. The main source of this "incompatibility" is that not all NATO arms are of American manufacture.

In an article in *Le Monde*, Admiral Antoine Sanguinetti, retired early for his public criticism of the current French government's NATO-ward swing, observed that "every time NATO might loosen up, a well orchestrated campaign on the arms level of the Warsaw Pact is enough to retighten the bonds with the 'big protector' under the influence of a terror maintained with the greatest care." This time the campaign is particularly significant, because it coincides with a policy of consummating West Europe's political and economic unification so as best to serve the needs and interests of American-controlled multinational corporations.

"Merely on the economic level," Admiral Sanguinetti wrote, "one cannot overlook or pretend not to notice the old theme of 'standardization' which, on the valid pretexts of return on investment and logistic practicality, enables NATO to dismantle Europe's arms industries. Yet they are precisely the spearhead of modern research and technology, a factor essential to influence and penetration of the world market."

Once "standardization" is accepted as a necessary principle, past experience indicates one of two outcomes: either the contract will go to an American firm, thus shutting that bit of the European market to European manufacturers, or else joint

production will be arranged, in which the U.S. takes the technologically advanced part, reducing European industry to a subsidiary role.

Standardization looks like an enterprise for economic and industrial absorption," Admiral Sanguinetti wrote. The ideological cover for this enterprise is provided not only by the Soviet scare but also by the stress on "interdependence," an "international division of labor" and a "new world economic order."

►The new Clausewitzians.

As Murray Marder reported in the *Washington Post*, the pessimistic estimate of Soviet global strategy and military might produced by the top level team headed by Professor Richard Pipes of Harvard was based more on political than military assessment. Considering the political astuteness of the gentlemen involved, this is reassuring news to anyone who was beginning to worry.

Pipes said of his panel: "They know about weapons, they all know about politics. They view Soviet policy in Clausewitzian terms—which is the way the Soviets look at it." Marder explained that Pipes was referring to the dictum that war is "a continuation of political relations by other means," sanctifying war as a continuation of diplomacy.

Piercing to the very heart of things with the laser beam of this great truth, "the Pipes panelists, and fellow pessimists, contend that U.S. policy has been based on the erroneous belief that the Soviet Union shares the official American view that nuclear war is 'unthinkable'." Marder reported. "On the contrary, they maintain, real Soviet policy, as distinct from declared policy, rules out no form of military might."

If this indeed represents the level of political analysis of the men running the U.S. there is real cause for alarm of another sort. It does quite obviously represent the level they can get away with, the political culture being what it is.

Assuming that war is a continuation of politics, assessment of the likelihood of any given power going to war would have to start with an analysis of the precise policy aims that could lead a power to the drastic "extension" of its policy into war. The panelists, who "know politics," did not tire themselves out with such an exercise.

Instead, they took Clausewitz, as philistines take Machiavelli, not for the insight, but for the moral opprobrium supposedly "believing" in such a theorist can cast on an adversary. The Soviets think in Clausewitzian terms, therefore they will stop at nothing, therefore they will do their worst.

This sums up the entire deduction of these knowledgeable political thinkers, who incidentally, as Pipes said, view policy in Clausewitzian terms themselves. So what is to keep them from stopping at nothing and doing their worst?

Nothing, of course, except that enormous complicated everchanging reality out there, which tends to get in the way of such fantasy whims as, "Since we've got so many bombs, let's conquer the world next Friday night." There is reason to believe that the Russian rulers are at least as aware of the obstacles contained in that reality as are the Pipes panelists.

Diana Johnstone is a Paris journalist who writes the monthly newsletter, *OWN*.

IN THESE TIMES

Special Report by Judy MacLean

Rape

What's being done to stop it?

Grass roots and diverse, anti-rape organizing takes many forms

Of all the violent crimes committed in the U.S., rape is increasing fastest. A rape is reported every ten minutes. Estimates vary, but the real rate is probably five to ten times that, meaning 500,000 to one million rapes per year.

As many as one-third of the victims are children; as many as one-half of all rapes are committed by gangs. Black women are three times as likely to be raped as white women; in the majority of cases the rapist and victim are of the same race. Like all violent crimes, rape occurs more often in poor neighborhoods.

A decade ago, a rape victim was considered disgraced, and most feared to even speak about the crime. Many women wouldn't report rape for fear of community reaction. If they did report it, they stood a good chance of being victimized again. They might face joking, disbelief or cruelty at the hands of the police, indifference or brutality from hospitals and an ordeal at court.

The women's movement of the late '60s saw rape as political. They viewed the treatment of rape victims as part of a pattern of systematic abuse of women. Susan Brownmiller says that, like the lynching of Southern blacks, this seemingly random violence terrorizes all women, and works to keep all "in our place."

In 1971 the New York Radical Feminists held the first "rape speakouts"—women began to tell the horror they had faced. A movement began to grow around the country from local, dispersed groups.

►Centers grow.

The anti-rape movement is still largely a local one; its basic unit is the rape crisis

center. "In 1972 there were three rape crisis centers in this country," says NOW's Mary Ann Largen. "Today there are over 150."

Most were begun by volunteers, primarily in big cities and university towns. Most continue to be staffed by volunteers. The YWCA has contributed office and phone resources for many centers. Others, like the Atlanta center, are in hospitals.

Centers usually have a crisis line, to give victims immediate support and counseling. Most also provide advocates who go with the victim to the police, hospital or court.

Anti-rape groups that began with these services for victims soon learned that many legal and social institutions are also in need of change. Some groups found that all their energy and resources were taken up assisting victims; but others have forced changes by the police, hospitals and courts. (See accompanying story.)

The centers were begun primarily by white women, "and that's a problem," says Carole Whiteside of Chicago's Northwest Rape Crisis. "The counselors are not representative of women who are raped."

Some centers have overcome this problem. Seattle's Rape Reduction Program was able to hire a Third World advocate to recruit and train volunteers and do community education. Sandra Vaughan of Atlanta's Rape Crisis Center says they have a great number of black counselors and that volunteers "come from all walks of life."

►Into the community.

Most centers do some community education, giving talks at local high schools,

colleges and local organizations. A few have initiated active community education campaigns. New York Women Against Rape has obtained composite drawings of rapists from police and distributed them in neighborhoods where the rapes occurred. The group also pressured institutions, such as Ward's Island, where female patients were frequently raped, to protect their inmates better.

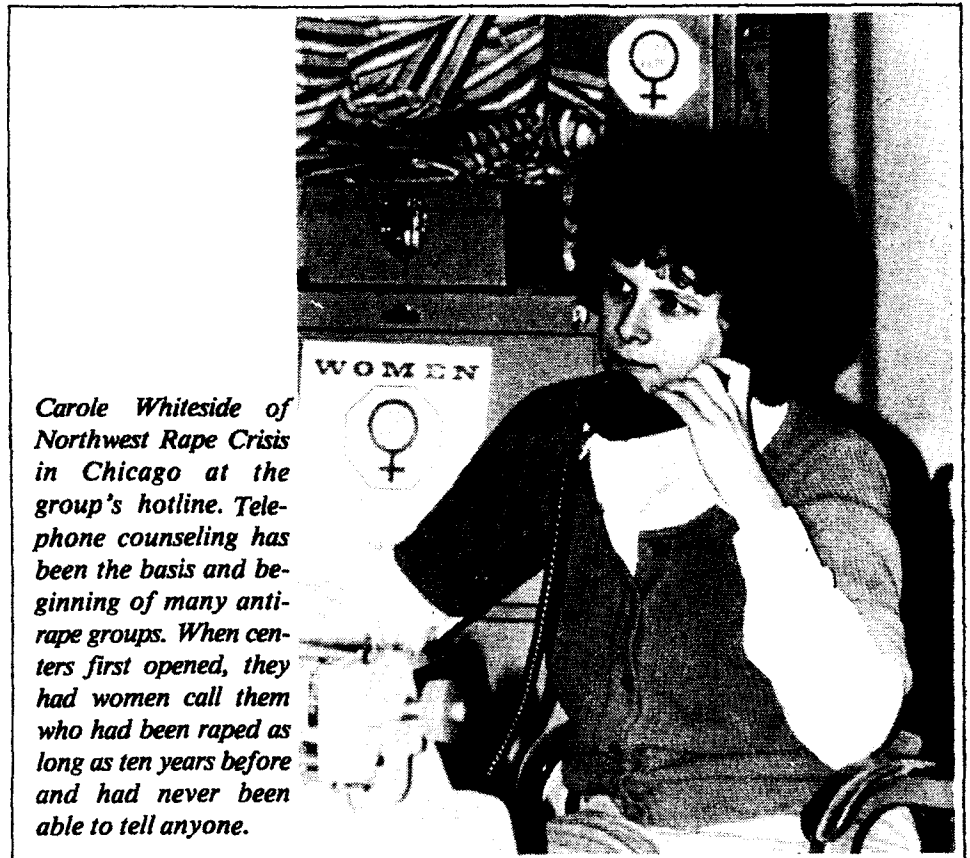
After several rapes occurred in city gar-

ages, anti-rape groups in Chicago demanded and won escort service for women.

Women Against Rape in Santa Cruz, Calif., takes direct action against rapists. Because they don't believe in working with the criminal justice system, they go out in groups of five to ten and confront the rapist publicly.

After they've made sure they have the

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Photos by Jane Melnick

Some institutions change—but attitudes move slowly

Still growing, still in the process of defining its goals, the anti-rape movement has won significant reforms in the processes a victim faces—counseling, the police, hospitals and the courts. Just bringing the problem of rape to light has led to the discovery of new problems previously ignored by society. In some cities where women have found it easier to report rape, for example, a high incidence of sexual abuse of children has emerged as a problem. There's still a long way to go and the movement has scarcely begun to make progress toward its long term goal, stopping rape.

►Counseling.

Most centers began doing telephone counseling, helping the victim cope with her pain, fear and anger and the possible unsympathetic reactions of her family or friends. They also give information about what to expect from police and hospitals.

In a few cities, such as Atlanta, police routinely refer all rape cases to crisis centers for counseling. In most, however, a woman must hear about the service and contact the group herself.

The counseling developed by the anti-rape movement, based on shared experience by victims and informed by feminism, is very different from that traditionally offered by mental health agencies.

The latter have often treated the victim as if she had somehow provoked the crime, or imagined it. Anti-rape groups in many cases now help train mental health workers, hospital social workers and others who deal with rape victims in

order to change traditional outlooks.

►The police.

"Three years ago, police treatment was the second part of the rape. They didn't even treat rape like a crime. I almost

couldn't bear to listen to the women who told us about it," says Dorothy Glasse of New York Women Against Rape (NYWAR).

Traditionally, police in the U.S. have given good treatment to middle income white women who were married or virgins and who were raped by a stranger. But if a woman was poor, black, Latino; if she had slept with men prior to being raped; if she knew her rapist; she could expect to be humiliated. The police might accuse her of provoking it or liking it. They might joke, or dismiss the rape as a normal incident in "that kind of neighborhood."

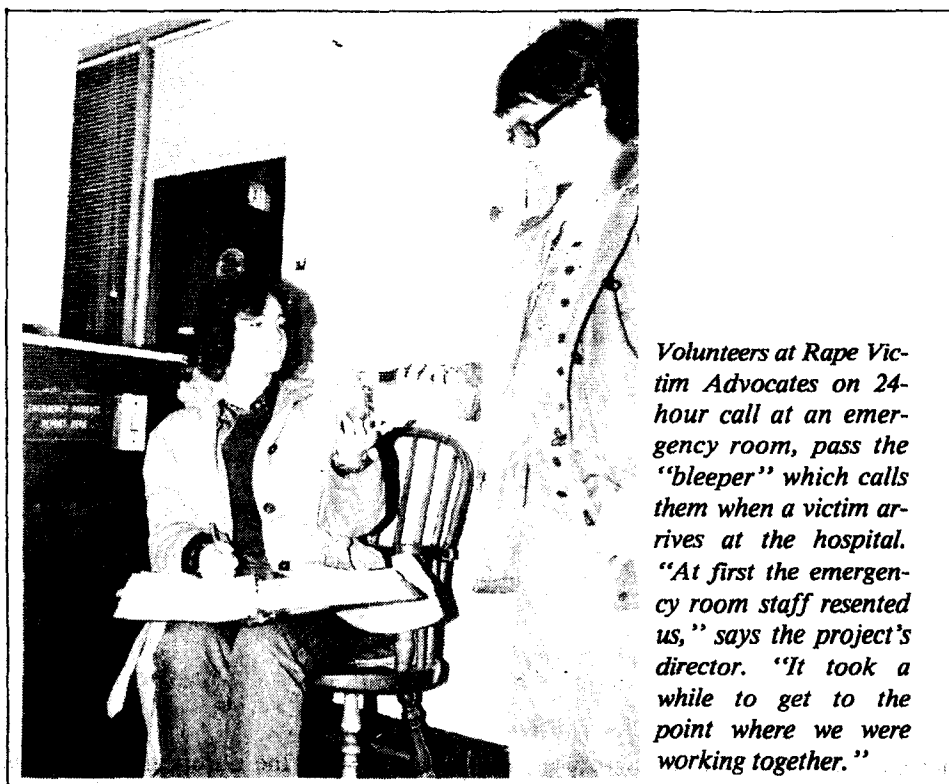
This still happens every day across the U.S., but in cities where anti-rape groups have been active, some progress has been made.

"Today, they are sending detectives who have a degree of training, they seem to be choosing more sensitive officers. We hear some of them have been marvelous," says Glasse.

"We do part of each new patrolperson's training. It's very extensive and it's generally been successful," says Janet Taggart of Seattle's Rape Reduction Program.

For every city where there's been some improvement, there are probably two

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Organizing — *The movement has also led to an awareness of how glorification of violence against women creates a climate where rape is likely.*

Continued from page 11.

right man, SCWAR members, frequently accompanied by the victim, force the rapist to listen to them in some public place (often right outside his place of work.) "Every time I go on a confrontation I'm scared to death," says Louita Spangler of SCWAR, "but I would like to see rape end."

"Usually he doesn't hear much of what we say, so a few days later some men from the Men Against Rape group will go and visit him, offer him support for change." They may form a men's group with him, or refer him to long-term counseling. "The men go to him as his peers, with the attitude that no one can be happy dehumanizing people," says Spangler.

The movement is also spreading beyond the large cities and university towns where it began. More and more centers are forming in the suburbs.

Suburbs are often slow to see rape as a problem. It took the rape of a high school cheerleader to spark interest to form YW Cares in Chicago's south suburbs, although coordinator Judy Mostevoy estimates there are 2,000 rapes annually in the area.

The project began last fall. "One problem we face is there are so many different police departments with overlapping jurisdictions," says Mostevoy. "It's confusing to victims and we don't have enough volunteers to monitor the police."

Centers are even forming in rural areas. Lynn Strauss is one of a group of women working to start a rape project in Kankakee, Ill. The work has been slow, but it is part of the first feminist group ever to exist there. "There's a real interest in the issue, and it's brought a lot of women together," Strauss reports.

►Funding biggest problem.

Few centers can afford the treatment offered in cities like Seattle or Atlanta. New York WAR's crisis line recently had to cut back to evening hours. "If this were a man's problem the city would have a full-

time service," says Dorothy Glasse. "How does a woman feel, when she calls in and gets a taped message? Sometimes she screams into the phone."

Funding is the biggest problem for all the centers. Part of the problem is that most federal money for rape is earmarked for research, not services. Authors Nancy Gager and Cathleen Schurr report that while some federal money goes to the centers, much "is siphoned away from the crisis centers and into poor and often trivial research by nonfeminist agencies and private profit-making groups."

In Atlanta, the center, located at Grady Hospital, offers free medical exams, counseling and a free abortion if necessary. That center recently faced a different kind of problem. A counselor was raped in the room where volunteers sleep while on 24-hour call. Afterwards, there were telephone threats to the staff. A coalition ranging from feminist groups to the Girl Scouts formed to demand better security at the hospital and continued funding for the center. Now, the counselors sleep in a guarded, secret location.

►Neighborhood action.

The movement to fight rape can't be measured solely through the centers. It takes many other forms, both sporadic and organized.

In the blue-collar neighborhood of Arlington Heights in Pittsburgh, a group of neighborhood women set up an after school rape education project and self-defense class for junior high school girls. Similar projects have been initiated in many cities.

Sometimes communities work together around a specific rapist. In Wilkinsburg, a small town adjacent to Pittsburgh, 12 to 18 women were raped near one street corner that happened to divide four police jurisdictions. No one had told the women of the neighborhood about the rapes, so some of them decided to have a meeting. Mary Ann Pallatino was one: "Over 100 women showed up, ages 12 to 70. Police from all four districts also came. It was a

big shock to them that the women were furious. The police claimed they didn't want to panic anyone. We said, isn't it better women should know?"

Over 250 chapters of NOW have also worked on rape, sometimes in centers, often in fights for legal change. NOW led groups that lobbied for legislation passed last year creating the National Center for Prevention and Control of Rape.

"It's so new it's not off the ground yet," says Mary Ann Largen. She hopes it will provide needed information and assistance to anti-rape projects.

►The right to walk the streets.

When New York NOW and other feminist groups sponsored a Women's Walk Against Rape last August, over 1,000 women marched through Central Park and the streets of New York one evening to dramatize that "women have the right to walk the streets at night."

There have been many smaller protests. In Long Beach, Calif., 200 women marched to the courthouse to protest a sentence of 30 weekends in jail given a convicted rapist.

The movement has also led to an awareness of how glorification of violence against women creates a climate where rape is likely. A group in California recently won the removal of billboards showing a woman, bruised and tied up, advertising the Rolling Stones' album *Black and Blue*.

Efforts at rape prevention have led to more classes in self-defense for women. Many high schools now offer or require them. "I'm not sure they always take them seriously enough," says Carole White-side of Chicago's Northside Rape Crisis.

Bobbi Snyder, head of Pittsburgh's Feminist Karate Union, thinks the self-defense trend is good. "But without training to raise consciousness, self-defense classes are just good exercise, like volleyball. You've got to get into a place, psychologically, where you can use your fear as a tool rather than letting it paralyze you."

►Other solutions: vigilantes.

Some groups, frustrated with the slow pace of reform, have turned to other solutions. A group called Women Armed for Self-Protection (WASP) in Dallas trains women in the use of guns. There are persistent rumors of groups of women vigilantes who beat up rapists. IN THESE TIMES was unable to contact any of them (such activity is illegal). Many such actions are probably spontaneous, one-time events.

One woman from New England described a case where a friend had been lured by a man she knew to his apartment and then raped.

"After three nights of stalking and waiting we lured him outside, saying we had porno movies. There were six of us. We beat the shit out of him, kicked him in the groin, yelling, 'you've got to treat women differently!' My feeling afterwards was that it wasn't worth it, but there was no other way at the time to deal with the anger. Police don't listen if you've known the guy."

The movement against rape is growing. As Mary Ann Pallatino says, "Rape is an issue that all women, even if they aren't feminists, can relate to."

BOOKS

Two books were especially helpful in writing this report on the anti-rape movement. *Against Our Will*, by Susan Brownmiller (Simon & Schuster) documents the shocking prevalence of rape throughout human history well as today. *Sexual Assault: Confronting Rape in America*, by Nancy Gager and Cathleen Schurr (Grosset & Dunlap) is an in-depth look at rape in the U.S. and the movement to stop it.

In Seattle, a comprehensive program uncovers new aspects of rape

Seattle, Wash., may well lead the country with its comprehensive rape program. A speakout on a university campus led to a weekend crisis line called Rape Relief.

The crisis line alone proved inadequate, and grants from the Law Enforcement Assistance Agency plus a cooperative city council and mayor led to the Rape Reduction Program. The program now includes an expanded Rape Relief crisis line with paid staff and 50 volunteers who are paid for time spent with victims and a special Sexual Assault Center in Harborview Medical Center.

Although coordinator Janet Taggart says, "It's required ingenuity to keep it going," funding has enabled the program to move beyond the load of counseling and advocacy weighing down most volunteer groups to dealing with problems that the medical and legal systems have ignored.

The Sexual Assault Center, for instance, has found that one-third of the victims they see are children under 14. Rape of children (93 percent girls) is seldom prosecutable. The rapist is a family member or friend in the majority of cases, and the child faces re-telling the story 20 times or so before the trial. At the trial a hostile defense attorney tries to prove the child is lying.

Many parents don't want to put a child through the added ordeal. Many also believe the prevailing psychotherapeutic mythology that children are prone to lie about these things, or fear disgrace for their family or friend.

Rape Reduction has developed procedures for police, hospitals and courts for cases of child rape that are used throughout the state of Washington and in other states. They include techniques for treatment of witnesses in court who are ages 2-4. The program also works closely with families to help them understand what the child is going through and avoid making the child feel guilty.

They've also begun to tackle procedures for rape cases of disabled victims, those with cerebral palsy, autism or mental retardation.

"There's never yet been a case with a developmentally disabled victim that got through the police and judicial system," says Janet Taggart.

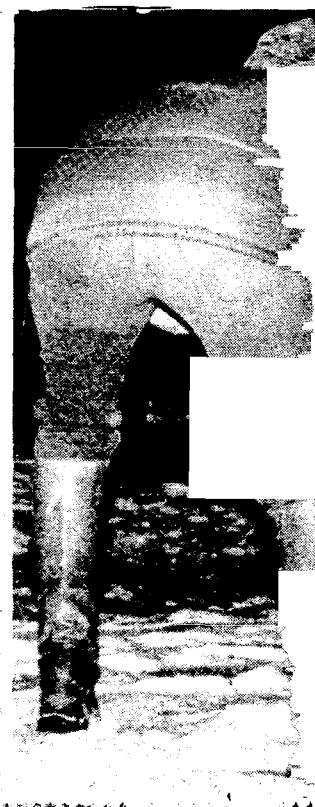
Rape Reduction is also doing community education about the problem. "There's an attitude that disabled people are non-sexual or not affected by a sexual assault when it happens," says Taggart.

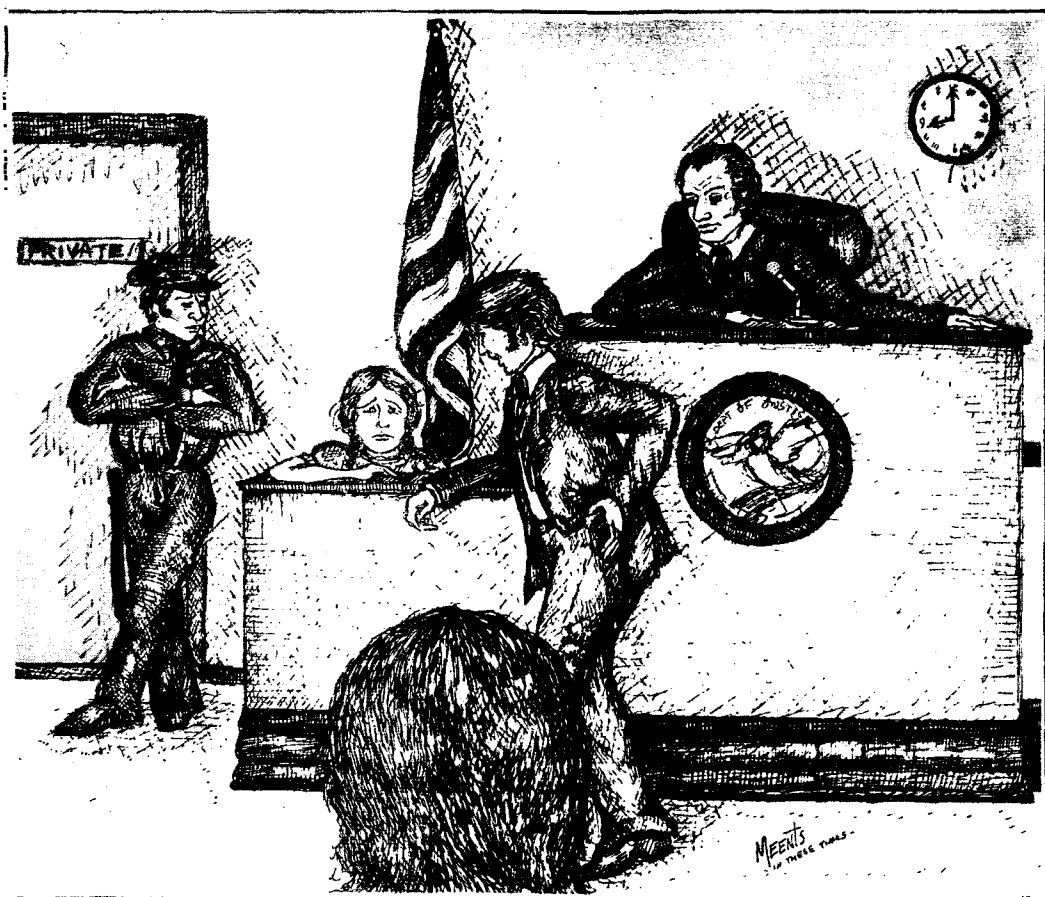
Seattle's rape program constantly trains new police and medical personnel and does training and community education throughout the state, Oregon and Alaska. They are currently working on a program with puppets on sexual assault education in elementary schools. They've also helped rewrite Washington's laws on sexual assault.

Taggart stresses that funding and local government cooperation have been crucial to the impact Rape Reduction has made. "We've been lucky," she says. "Without these alliances and support we'd be very frustrated."



Andra Medea, president of Chimera, a group of women's self defense teachers, demonstrates two self-defense methods in a Chicago alley. Left: use what's at hand as a weapon. Below: judo. Medea is author of an upcoming book, *The Streetwise Guide to Self Defense*.





Some institutions change

Continued from page 11.

where things are no better. In Chicago, which like many cities has one rape investigation unit staffed by specially trained women, may other officers who deal with rape have no special training and humiliating treatment is still common. Chicago's police, like those in many cities, have refused to have anti-rape groups train police on a regular basis.

►Hospitals.

Hospitals have also humiliated and hurt rape victims, or destroyed evidence by careless procedures.

"The hospitals are the worst part of the New York system now," says Dorothy Glasse. "I think there are only three of four places a victim can go and expect any kind of good treatment." Those, she adds, have worked closely with NYWAR. "We hear about the worst possible treatment, women waiting seven hours in a waiting room, terrible stories," she says. "But it's a matter of time. We're working on them."

In Illinois, the movement won a new law requiring all hospitals to deal with rape cases and specified procedures for taking evidence. "But most hospitals haven't even made plans to comply with the law yet," says Barb of Rape Victim Advocates at Grant and Hemotrin hospitals in Chicago. Her group is an example of a recent trend towards setting up rape crisis projects within hospitals.

Her group of volunteers is on call any

time a rape victim comes to one of the two hospitals. "At first the emergency room staff resented us," she reports. "It took a while to get to the point where we were working together."

Mary Ann Largen, former head of NOW's rape task force, believes many hospitals have reformed the procedures. Mostly they've been those in contact with the anti-rape movement and she cautions that the quality varies.

In several cities, like Atlanta and Seattle, a special program at one hospital handles all rape cases. In Atlanta, the anti-rape movement sought that arrangement because so many hospitals and private M.D.'s refused to see rape cases.

►The criminal justice system.

Rape is the most under-reported and under-prosecuted crime in the U.S. Only 3 percent of reported cases lead to a conviction; this means a conviction rate as low as .3 percent if estimates of unreported rapes are taken into account.

Rape laws, which put the victim on trial rather than the rapist, are a big factor.

Mary Ann Largen says that pressure from anti-rape groups has forced 27 states to partially or totally reform their rape laws. Changes are pending in another 10.

The major change in these laws is that evidence of the victim's previous sexual history is made irrelevant. Before the changes, the best rape defense was to paint the victim as a loose woman, likely to consent with the rapist. Since the defendant's previous rape convictions are often not admissible, victims often understandably felt they, not the rapist, were on trial.

Another reform is accepting the word of the victim as sufficient evidence of rape. "Before elimination of the corroboration requirement, there had to be an eyewitness or the victim had to be beaten bloody," says Largen. Today, only five states still require corroboration.

Another trend is to redefine the crime to cover male victims and children.

Michigan has the most comprehensive legal reform. Surprisingly, one aspect of reform there has been lowering of some prison sentences. Juries often don't convict rapists because prison sentences are high. Michigan's law has four degrees of rape with descending levels of punishment. First degree rape, where a gang or lethal weapon are involved, carries a maximum sentence of life; fourth degree rape, where force or coercion is used to "accomplish sexual contact," carries a maximum of two years.

So far the new laws are being upheld in court tests. "The police love it," reports Jan Bendor of Michigan NOW. "Women are sticking with prosecution more, reports of sexual assaults are up, warrants on those reports are way up, and

there's some improvement on convictions, too."

►The right to defend.

The case of Joanne Little, a black woman who killed a white jailer who attempted to rape her, raised the question of whether women have the right to defend themselves from rape, even by killing the rapist. Her acquittal helps establish a precedent.

Inez Garcia and Yvonne Wanrow are two other Third World women whose cases also raise important legal questions. Garcia shot a man who assisted the man who raped her, but the time that elapsed after the rape took place means self-defense is not an issue. Her case will determine if women's rage at rape can be a mitigating circumstance in murder. Wanrow, a native American, shot a man who had reportedly sexually abused her children. Both of these cases are still unresolved.

All three of these women have had extensive support from anti-rape and other feminist groups. It's hard to estimate the fallout from these famous cases. But a woman's right to defend herself is less open to question. In Chicago recently, a woman killed a rapist as he attacked her; no charges were filed.

Other legal traditions are falling too. In November, a Chicago prostitute said she was raped by four men, and the four are being tried. Whatever the outcome, such a case would never have reached the courts five years ago. To the law, a prostitute had no right to say what man invaded her body.

No state has yet amended its law as South Australia recently did, to cover rape within marriage. And in few places can a woman expect to prosecute a rape case against a man she'd slept with, lived with, or even dated.

►Operating within criminal justice system.

When the anti-rape movement began, many women had doubts about co-operating with the criminal justice system. A few still do.

In "An Open Letter to the Anti-Rape Movement," members of Santa Cruz Women Against Rape say, "Attempts at 'good relations' with the criminal justice system have served to co-opt our movement, and have led to the belief (or hope) that the criminal justice system can solve the problem of rape."

One of the problems they raise is racism. Rapes by middle income white men are more likely to go unreported; once reported the conviction rate is low. "Those convicted of rapes are most likely to be Third World and/or poor white men," they point out.

Most rape groups and other groups concerned with the issue disagree with SCWAR. They believe enforcement and re-

Only 3 percent of reported cases lead to a conviction.

es, where a woman faces inhumane treatment by police and the ordeal of her private life exposed in open court," says Dianne McCollough of Chicago NAACP. "Rapists now get off too easily," she adds, "they may rape again, and the continuous cycle makes women afraid to report rapes."

Cedric Russell, the black director of the Illinois Prisons and Jails Project, says, "The whole criminal justice system is racist. But people saying women pushing for enforcement of rape laws is racist sounds like intellectual bullshit to me." He stressed that his project and most prison reform groups do not oppose conviction and prosecution of criminals, but rather the lack of rehabilitation after conviction.

►Public opinion.

Anti-rape groups consider community education to be one of their most vital activities. It's the first step toward changing what Nancy Gager and Cathleen Schurr, in their book *Sexual Assault: Confronting Rape in America* calls a "rape-prone society."

"Our major success has been increased public awareness," says CWAR's Marcia Alpert. "It's less shameful now, women have places to turn to."

When rape crisis centers first opened, they all had women call them who had been raped as long as ten years before and had never been able to tell anyone.

Sandra Vaughan of Atlanta's Rape Crisis Center believes the rising rate of reported rape is primarily due to women being less afraid of disgrace. Dorothy Glasse thinks there's been a great change in how communities view rape victims. "Now people don't see it as something women bring on themselves, but as an indication of men being violent to women."

Vaughan is not so optimistic. She points out that women are still the worst jurors in rape trials and believes the effect on most people so far has been negligible.

While glorification of rape is still the rule in movies and in the growing pornography industry, there are scattered signs of changing consciousness about rape in the media. Several excellent TV movies have appeared in the past few years, giving a victim's point of view about rape and the court system. Tex Antoine, a weatherman on WABC-TV in New York, joked that a woman should "sit back, relax and enjoy it," after a news broadcast about the rape of a seven-year-old girl. Hundreds of angry letters and phone calls forced the station to remove him.

In another TV event, Susan Brownmiller, author of *Against Our Will*, appeared on a Chicago TV program with Eldridge Cleaver. Brownmiller demanded and got a public apology to all women from Cleaver. In the late '60s, Cleaver wrote in *Soul on Ice* about raping white

Brownmiller demanded and got a public apology to all women from Cleaver.

form of rape laws are necessary. "We felt ambivalent about prosecutions at the beginning," says Marcia Alpert of Chicago Women Against Rape. "We felt the system was racist and the penalty high."

CWAR tries to assess each victim's needs and help her to prosecute if she wants to do so. "We realize rape will only end when the society is really changed," says Alpert, "but without prosecutions we have virtually nothing."

"You can't deal with all the problems at once," says Michigan NOW's Jan Bendor. She points out that concern about racism in the criminal justice system ignores the higher rate of rape of black women.

The National Alliance of Black Feminists also believes "women have the right to freedom from and prompt prosecution of sexual abuses," according to Executive Director Brenda Eichleberger. "In the past, police have tended to treat black women, who are most likely to be victimized, as prostitutes."

The NAACP, too, supports enforcement and reform of rape laws. "We are opposed to the present process in rape cas-

women as an act of political retribution for white society's crimes against blacks, and raping black women for practice.

►A long way to go.

But convincing the public that rape is a crime won't stop it, though it is a necessary first step. The growing movement is aware that it is a long way from solving the problem of rape.

"When you look at rape as men being violent towards women, who are easy victims, then you look at ways to change the patterns that make women weaker," says Carole Whiteside. But when you ask why men have to victimize anyone, she says, then you are asking very basic questions about this society. "It's going to take a real social upheaval to stop rape," says Marcia Alpert.

Fighting on so many fronts often seems like an uphill battle, and to really stop rape the changes will have to go very deep. Yet the legal changes and hotlines, the police training and hospital programs, have had an impact on American life, and are likely to have more in the future.



Two Victims

Karen and Ann (not their real names) were both raped in Chicago during the past year. The differing treatment they received from police and hospitals reflects

the situation a woman who is raped faces today. Five years ago, most victims could expect to be treated like Karen, or possibly

worse. Ann's experience was by no means ideal, but it shows the changes that have been made at least in part as a result of the anti-rape movement.

Karen:

Karen was raped in her home the night she returned, exhausted, from a two week trip. She woke in a stupor. "He had his left hand around my throat and was pushing my head into the pillow, and the right hand had a gun at my head. He told me to be quiet and not to move," she says. He put a pillowcase over her head and she never saw him.

When he was through, the rapist told her, "If it makes you feel any better, you can try calling the police as soon as I'm gone. It won't do you any good, but you can try." And he left.

She called a friend, who said she'd be right over and to call the police. "I didn't have any idea they might catch him, but I wanted to cooperate. I was willing to do whatever I could to prevent someone else from being victimized," says Karen.

"The 15th District police were super. They were running up and down the streets looking for him. But they led me to believe I was obligated to go to the hospital. From that point on, it was handled by a lot of other police officers, and one was worse than the next."

The district police took her to St. Anne's hospital. She had the impression they had to wake the doctor up. "He said, 'what happened to you?' I said, 'I've been raped.' He said, 'Was it a colored?' I said, 'Is this a question you have to ask? I don't see that it has any bearing.' It was downhill from there."

She calls what happened next "physical abuse." "I've had gynecological exams before and they have never been painful, but he tortured me, all the while asking

Homicide drove her home from the hospital. "They asked me questions like 'Didn't you enjoy it? Didn't you egg him on? Wasn't it an old boyfriend?' When

Two officers from Sexual Assault and Homicide drove her home. "They asked me questions like 'Didn't you enjoy it? Didn't you egg him on? Was it an old boyfriend?' If I were ever raped again in Chicago, I would not go to the police under any circumstances.

personal questions that had no bearing on the rape case."

"The doctor said, 'You mean you're going to tell me you've been raped and you don't have a scratch or a bruise anywhere?' He didn't like that," she says.

She hadn't washed, believing she'd destroy evidence. The doctor said, "You mean to say you were just raped and you didn't wash?"

When she received the bill, she noticed a number of tests she found not only unnecessary, but insulting. They had tested her for V.D., which would not indicate if she had just contracted V.D., but if she had it prior to the rape. The hospital also refused to release the results of the tests to her, although they released them to the police.

Two officers from Sexual Assault and

they asked 'How exactly did he do it, why couldn't you see him?' I answered I was face down and I swear they got off," she says.

A friend who works for the city later told her the Chicago Police Department has "no use for me unless I have a fractured skull at least." The detectives asked for a list of all her old boyfriends.

During the time she was at the hospital, her friend stayed at her apartment with at least 20 police. "They had been doing some usual things, like dusting for fingerprints and looking under the bed for clues," Karen says. They found a bus transfer, which was later lost. "And they did some rather unusual things, like going through my reading material. They went through my desk, which was locked."

Volunteers work with Karen in her business. One, who had taken care of her cats

while she was out of town, was at her apartment when Karen got back. The police quizzed the volunteer and finally said, "We can understand that there might be things about Karen's personality or habits you might not want to say in front of her. Here is our card, please give us a call," according to Karen.

For months, she says, the police felt free to drop by, in numbers of one to five, any time of the day or night, unannounced. "One time I'd hear they'd found fingerprints and sent them to Washington; the next I'd hear there were no prints." They frightened her landlord, who was 84, asking him questions and mentioning he might be liable for a lawsuit for not having a secure building.

Both the police and the Rape Crisis Center advised her to move. Rape Crisis told her there was a 50 percent chance the rapist would come back. "The police, without coming up with any evidence, or any kind of case, have continued to harass me through two address changes. The last time one came, after four months with no information, help or support from hospital or police, I just said, 'We have nothing more to say to each other.'"

Karen feels the treatment by the hospital and police were worse than the rape. "If I were ever again raped in Chicago I would not go to the police under any circumstances, and I would give that recommendation to any other woman," she says.

Ann:

Ann was walking home alone from a bar at 3 a.m. when a man jumped behind her, grabbed her around the shoulders and mouth, and moved her into an alley. He blindfolded her and put a knife to her throat.

"I was really terrified. He dragged me to an empty lot and got a piece of cardboard." He put her down on it. "All the time he had a knife at my throat. Once in a while he'd take it away, but not being able to see, I didn't now how to struggle against him."

She doesn't remember too well the time immediately after the rape. She thinks she must have put on her pants and "just ran."

"I called the police. The only thing that occurred to me was to call people with guns. I didn't think of other kinds of support. I wanted to be absolutely protected by weapons," she says.

A woman officer arrived immediately. "There was a guy there too, but she handled the whole thing. She was fairly supportive," says Ann. They first took her back to the site "which wasn't the best thing," Ann says, and they found the cardboard and her underwear.

The police had already caught a suspect. "It was really vile to me. The rapist was black, and I thought it was just any black man they saw in the neighborhood." Ann couldn't identify him, but knew the scarf he had was not what had blindfolded her. "I guess they let him go," she says.

They took Ann to Illinois Masonic Hospital. "The doctor came down right away. It was a woman gynecologist and that was

nice. It was hard for me to even look at men, then. They were supportive. They asked questions, but not in some horrid way, like I'd heard they might," she says.

The doctor offered her "morning after" pills—di-ethyl stilbestrol, a strong drug that prevents conception if taken within 24 hours of a rape. "I mentioned that they were supposed to be bad and the doctor said she understood but for me to consider the alternatives. I finally took them."

"Later people from the hospital called every few days, almost too often, to find out how I was doing, if I wanted counsel-

Chicago Women Against Rape came to talk with the social workers. "Gradually, over several years, we've begun to provide better treatment than in the past," she says, although she still believes the program can be improved.

A detective from Area 6 Homicide asked Ann questions at the hospital, "but he was also a very nice guy. I didn't get into any bad experiences until we got back to the police station," says Ann. The woman officer and the detective were interviewing her and the other male cops began asking, "Well, what are you doing

The woman officer told her, "I hope you don't pay attention to those guys. . . You have every right to live your life and walk down the street."

ing. The gynecologist called also, to say that from the tests, this guy had gonorrhea and for me to get myself checked out. She talked to me for a long time and was real nice," Ann recalls.

► Good procedures.

Carole Whiteside of Northside Rape Crisis says, "We recommend that hospital because the head of emergency services is excellent. She's a realist and has brought good procedures in."

Dr. Vera Markovin, director of emergency services at Masonic, says the anti-rape movement spurred the hospital to begin improving the program for rape victims. It started when Marcia Alpert of

walking home so late at night?" Ann "got really mad and started arguing with them," she remembers. "Maybe it was good for me to vent some of the anger."

The woman officer drove her to the home of friends and told her, "I hope you don't pay attention to those guys. I work with them, but I think what they were telling you was absolutely wrong. You have every right to live your life and walk down the street." She told Ann that was why she was working.

A common demand by anti-rape groups has been for more women police officers. "There's a direct correlation between the outcry by the movement and the hiring of women police, but there are still too few,"

says Mary Ann Largen of NOW.

Ann also had a woman investigator assigned to her case. "I called a couple of times to see how it was going. She was real cooperative," says Ann.

Ann was called in for a lineup. The police caught a suspect from prints on the cardboard. The woman investigator told Ann she had been a decoy, walking the streets in that area, and that the man had followed her but was scared off. "She wanted me to know she was terrified. That was nice." But even so, confronting the lineup was terrifying for Ann.

The state's attorney had to take a deposition about Ann's character. Illinois is one of the states where the victim's past sexual history is still admissible evidence in a rape case. "He asked gross questions: how many men I'd slept with, if I ever slept with anyone who was black. He was embarrassed and apologized, but I felt shut up and get on with it—I don't want to hear how sorry you are. That got me worried if it might end up being me that's the one on trial because of some past history of mine," says Ann.

The suspect has been convicted of rape before. "I got pretty ill when I saw a story about him in the paper, calling him a 'gentle giant.' His friends formed a committee to help him. It was, oh, he's really a nice guy. Maybe he goes out with a mask and commits rape, but really, he doesn't mean to hurt anyone!"

Although the prospect of the trial worries her, she says, "If this is the guy, I'm glad they got him. I feel much safer with him being locked up somewhere."

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IN THESE TIMES

Editorial

Internat'l Women's Day —It's a world movement

March 8 is International Women's Day. Like the other big socialist holiday, May Day, Women's Day started in the U.S. on March 8, 1908 when thousands of women garment workers walked off their jobs in New York City, demanding better wages and protesting working conditions that a few years later killed 146 of them in the Triangle Shirtwaist Fire.

Declared an international holiday in 1910 by the Socialist International, Women's Day is widely celebrated in the socialist world and in many capitalist countries. In Vietnam, the day commemorates women moving into equal participation in society; groups of women embarking on new roles name themselves "March 8" teams. In the Soviet Union the day commemorates women and motherhood, something like Mother's Day here.

A neglected holiday in the U.S., Women's Day has taken second place to Mother's Day, much as May Day has to Labor Day. Each year in the past decade,

though, there have been increasing numbers of celebrations.

Throughout the world, women are still "the second sex," whether in China, where the socialist state has made giant strides toward women's equality, or in the Middle East, where things seem to be standing still. Yet the struggle for equal rights for women is now world-wide.

Italian feminists demonstrated the need for an independent women's movement in the past year around the question of abortion. The Communist Party thought it too controversial; the women's movement went ahead and campaigned for reform. The PCI was forced to yield to the pressure. Now the lower house of parliament has approved a liberalizing law.

In Spain, women's demands since Franco's death have made reform of divorce and adultery laws, of which women are the main victims, the main reform issues.

In South Korea, women are playing a leading role in human rights struggles. In



South Australia, the anti-rape movement has recently won the right to refuse intercourse with their husbands.

Feminism is making a tour of the world. Two great strands intertwine: Third World liberation movements have found that to succeed they must challenge women's tra-

ditional roles. Women in developed countries have raised a storm of demands about every aspect of their lives. Much remains to be accomplished, but in 1977, the liberation of women has become a world issue.

Human rights should begin at home

"I think we come out better," said President Carter at his press conference on Feb. 8, "if I am consistently and completely dedicated to the enhancement of human rights, not only as it deals with the Soviet Union but all other countries." Carter was talking about the rights of political dissenters in the Soviet Union, whose troubles have provided him with the opportunity to reemphasize the con-

These events are not aberrations, but part of a policy to do exactly what President Carter condemns when it happens in Russia.

cern for democratic rights that American politicians find happily deficient in the Soviet Union.

Despite the disparity between the intensity of Carter's concern for the rights of dissidents in the Soviet Union, over whose internal affairs we can have little direct influence, and his concern for the rights of dissidents in such nations as South Korea, Chile and South Africa, where the United States can, and when it wants to does, exercise real power, we welcome Carter's statement of principle.

Now he should apply it at home, where his ability actually to control the secret police—in this case the FBI—is real and immediate. Two items: On Feb. 17, the *Washington Post* reported that the FBI or the local police had leaked the contents of the briefcase of assassinated Chilean exile Orlando Letelier to Jack Anderson and the right wing columnists Rowland Evans and Robert Novak, apparently for the purpose of damaging the reputation of Rep. Michael Harrington (D-Mass.) and to divert attention from CIA-trained Cuban exiles who apparently did the killing.

Evans and Novak (*Washington Post*, Feb. 16) implied that Letelier had acted as a paid Cuban agent, but the briefcase, which was opened to the press for inspection by Letelier's widow and her lawyer, included nothing indicating any violation of the law. But so far no administration

figure has spoken out to condemn the FBI's action. And, of course, no steps were taken to prevent a repetition of this kind of political use of our national police.

Feb. 28, the *Los Angeles Times* reported that a paid FBI informant, who, according to the bureau's own reports was about 90 percent reliable (a very high score for a police informer), has confessed to breaking into a house belonging to liberal Rep. Patricia Schroeder (D-Colo.) on FBI orders. The informer, Timothy Redfearn, is now in prison for burglary of the Socialist Workers Party Denver headquarters. Redfearn says the FBI gave him \$4,100 at the time of his burglary trial to stop him from telling a grand jury that he had been paid \$400 a month for spying on the party.

The FBI, of course, denies that it paid Redfearn to break into Rep. Schroeder's house, although it does not deny spying on the SWP. This denial is not actually an admission of guilt, but neither is it an indication of innocence, as anyone familiar with the FBI knows. Schroeder herself seems to believe Redfearn's confession ("A lot of agents out there have never liked me," she says) and also that there is nothing she can do about it.

These examples of the use of "law enforcement" agencies to violate the law and to intimidate and harass political dissidents, and even liberal Democrats like Rep. Schroeder (described by the *Los Angeles Times* as "a dovish member of the House Armed Services Committee and an ardent feminist"), are far from unique. Two weeks ago, for example, we reported on police spying on the New University Conference. And the list could be extended indefinitely. When reported at all in the press, however, these events are treated as aberrations, or as instances of excess zeal or misguided good intentions. They aren't. They are part of a consistent policy of local and national police agencies to do exactly what President Carter condemns when it happens in Russia.

We, too, support the Soviet dissidents, but unlike our Christian President, we believe that human rights, like charity, should begin at home.

Carter's budget deficit due to military spending

In a great capitalist power like the U.S. the government budget is the fulcrum of the entire national economy, and also exerts a determining impact on the world economy. Along with the corporate investment and pricing system, the budget is the key instrument in controlling the distribution of income and the balance of power between capital and labor. The battle of the budget is a sophisticated form of class conflict.

The federal budget regulates the pace of the economy, including everyone's employment opportunities and income share. It also determines budgeting by cities and states for virtually all their social services and public facilities. This is especially so now that the interstate and multinational character of corporate operations has eroded the revenue bases of cities and states and thrown them into virtual dependency upon the central government, in effect gutting the vitality of the federal system.

Carter's budget revisions for fiscal 1977 and his own 1978 budget (see details, page 3) project no more than a 5.4 percent real growth in the GNP, continuing inflation at the present 5-6 percent rate, and an unemployment level of 6-7 percent or more. The 1978 budget runs to September 30, 1978, which means that Carter is asking Congress for no measures to reduce unemployment even to the 5 percent range through virtually half his entire term.

The Carter budget, in other words, is par for the corporate course. As has been true since World War II, military spending remains the paramount form of government economic "stimulus," leaving a pittance for social programs, for education, for the cities and for healthy stimulus directed to democratic goals and the general welfare.

The huge amount of total revenues engorged by the corporate military contractors has been obscured since the 1960s when social security transfer funds were lumped together with all tax revenues. This accounting sleight-of-hand makes the military portion of government spending seem less than it is.

Anticipated tax receipts of about \$400

billion in the 1978 budget are really about \$260 billion when the \$141 billion of social security transfers are set aside. Military and military-related spending (including interest on debt, veterans' benefits, international affairs, and science/space research) amount to about \$180 billion, leaving about \$80 billion for all other programs. The public must scramble for 30 percent of available tax revenues, after the military sector is through feeding upon 70 percent of the money in the public trough.

The loudly lamented budget deficits, and their inflationary effect, are the fallout from three decades of military spending, not from social programs. They could be curtailed or ended altogether by cutting military spending, transferring those funds to job-creating social programs, and taxing rather than borrowing from the rich at usurious interest rates. Such a budget would redistribute income and power from capital to labor and move in the direction of democratic goals. That is the way to achieve socially responsible government programs without deficits. And that is why "fiscal-conservative" no less than "fiscal-liberal" presidents are all deficit-spending presidents.

In Budget Director Lance's words, the revised 1977 budget will merely "maintain current programs at their present levels." And as Carter tells us, "The 1978 budget is essentially still President Ford's ... with only ... limited revisions." The people might just as well have re-elected Ford, at least to sit for half of Carter's term.

But Congress may not settle for a used Ford, even if deSimonized.

Labor, black, women's and other anti-corporate movements are pressing Congress to look for a different model. Socialists should urge adoption by Congress of a people's budget defining and implementing social goals, centered upon full-employment planning and geared to a coherent and democratic control over the investment system, rooted in a growing public sector.

Congress should be pressed to send Carter its own budget message, "Why not the best?" The "best" is yet to come.



Mervyn Jones

London police are threatening to strike for first time since 1919

Britain's police are demanding the right to strike. Resolutions pouring in from branches of the Police Federation, the organization to which all policemen belong, express angry impatience with current pay scales. These are limited, like those of other employees, by the rigorous restraint that has operated in Britain since August 1975. In common with wage-earners in general, policemen have suffered a definite fall in their living standards due to inflation.

Police chiefs are anxiously scrutinizing records of the various police strikes that have occurred in recent years in the U.S. and Canada. It appears that some of these led to an "orgy of crime," while in other cases nothing of the sort happened. In this country, there hasn't been a police strike since 1919.

That strike was broken with considerable ferocity, the Army taking a hand, and hundreds of "disloyal" coppers were expelled from the force. The embryonic police trade union had to be dissolved. The Police Federation as it now exists, while a rank-and-file body with a democratic structure, is not a union and has no links with the TUC. It operates normally by lobbying, and always retains a prominent politician as its spokesman in Parliament. For several years this position was held by James Callaghan, now Prime Minister. The current spokesman is Eldon Griffiths, a Tory who held junior office in Edward Heath's 1970-74 government.

►Rising crime?

Like the police in other countries, British police regularly publish figures of rising crime and of falling recruitment. The statistics are somewhat questionable; if you added up all the "rising crime" percentages of the last 20 years you would conclude that murder, rape and robbery were the main occupations in this country. Ac-

tually, Britain's streets are still safer than streets almost anywhere. A recent example of emotive figure-brandishing was a police announcement that 300 muggings had occurred over a year in a (partly black) area of south London. "Mugging" is a fairly new word in Britain and sends shivers down the spine. It turned out that most of the alleged muggings were robberies by pick-pockets or purse-snatchers without any violence.

As for recruitment, this is also a hardy perennial. The police are always below strength, or what they consider to be the proper strength. This week, the London force announces that it is short 300 detectives. Not long ago it admitted failure of a

drive to recruit black policemen. Blacks are totally alienated from the police; the drive netted only eight recruits.

►Carry guns? Police lobbying in recent years has encountered some defeats—notably the abolition of the death penalty despite dire police warnings—but also some victories, such as the introduction of majority (10-2) verdicts in place of unanimous verdicts in jury trials. A perennially controversial topic is whether the police should be armed. Britain is of course the only country with unarmed police, and the coppers themselves are opposed to being given guns, arguing that criminals would then take to carrying guns and life would be more dangerous

brutal, racially prejudiced and corrupt. At present they enjoy greater admiration because they are pitted against IRA terrorists, and in this campaign police methods have generally been cool-headed. When IRA men under pursuit broke into an apartment and held a man and his wife hostage for a week, the police talked to them until they gave up. It's easy to think of countries where the police would have shot their way in and the hostages would have died.

►Heavy criticism

Last summer, on the other hand, the police came in for heavy criticism after their handling of the street carnival held by London's black community. With West

Indian steel bands and dancing, this is a pretty free-wheeling event and the blacks feel that they should be free of surveillance for one day in the year. For the 1976 carnival the police, claiming to be hunting pick-pockets, moved in hundreds of men and tried to exercise rigorous control. The result was a riot, with some policemen concerned, roughed up, and stripped to their underclothes by the enraged crowd.

Another recent event that has done the police no good is the disclosure of systematic payoffs by wealthy porn traders in Soho. While radical or avant-garde bookshops have been raided, the dealers in hard porn were protected and some senior police officers got rich. There has been a sensational trial, resulting in guilty verdicts, and another trial is pending. It also appears that officers have been holding parties at which confiscated movies are shown, the movies being later sold at a good profit.

And searching questions may be asked about the arrest on Feb. 18 of two left-wing journalists and an ex-soldier. The ex-soldier was talking into a tape-recorder when the police raided the house. The men were then held for 48 hours without being charged or allowed to contact a lawyer. At the expiration of this time charges were made under the Official Secrets Act, but prosecutions under this act legally require the authority of the Attorney-General and it seems that he was not kept informed. It's suspected that the police, knowing that their evidence was inadequate for prosecution, tried to force his hand by making the arrests, securing sensational press publicity and using the 48 hours to get confessions.

Mervyn Jones has worked as assistant editor of the London Tribune and of the Newstatesman. He has recently published a book on Britain's offshore oil industry, and is also a novelist.

IN THESE TIMES OPINION

Ronald Radosh

A socialist is running for president in the Patrolman's Benevolent Association

The massive layoff of over 3,000 police officers, combined with the city's attempt to cut back contractual gains won in past years, have led a dissatisfied and angry rank-and-file to flout the laws they are sworn to protect. Recent police demonstrations led to the disciplining and suspension of officers who took to the streets, and to the resulting demand by the Patrolmen's Benevolent Association (PBA) for "amnesty."

The PBA, however, has proved unable to win dramatic gains for its members. Last week PBA president Douglas O. Weaving resigned. He had replaced the popular Ken McFeeley, who had resigned from the job out of frustration last year. In this context of stalemate and a tough fight with a city in "fiscal crisis," new elections for PBA president will be held in early June.

Rank-and-file police will be confronted with a strange new choice for union leadership—a 19 year veteran of the force, Stanley Blecher, who intends to launch a campaign as a declared socialist.

Blecher works currently in the communications section of the central New York City headquarters as a radio dispatcher. In a close contest last year he managed to unseat an incumbent delegate to the PBA assembly by a vote of 140 to 120. Since then Blecher has put his energy into planning a campaign "embracing the philosophy of Eugene V. Debs," of the old Socialist Party.

Blecher sought to "incorporate Debs' principles into a full-fledged campaign for the presidency of the PBA." Citing an "irreverence for management" — all ranks

above that of the regular police officer — Blecher blasts the "class system" that grows and prospers while the regular officer suffers. Some 20,000 rank-and-file officers are now on the force, led by the 4,500 he classes among management. Out of a \$1 billion budget, \$300 million goes out in wages to the 4,500 of high rank, while 20,000 share the remaining \$450 million, Blecher says.

Some critics argue that, unlike other unions, the PBA has tried to gain benefits for its members that no other workers' organizations could hope for, and that PBA pits itself against other workers in asking for an undue share of a diminishing pie. Blecher admits that much of the criticism is valid. He argues that the PBA is led by "traditionalists" who represent the highest paid management on the force.

►Blacks neglected.

Blecher, a white officer, cites the neglect by PBA of the interests of its black, Hispanic and women members. Only two black delegates are on its assembly and no Hispanics and no female officers. As a result, he claims that the PBA has become so unviable that it cannot represent any of its membership effectively, not to speak of its minority group components.

The main problem, Blecher says, is that police officers consider themselves to be part of a privileged species. "If he looked upon himself as a worker, which he's beginning to now because of the despair and the layoffs—which transcend all racial and other lines—he will have to change his way of thinking," and the PBA will have to cooperate with other municipi-

pal unions. Were such a position to be taken by PBA, it would drastically change its orientation and effect its bargaining strategy. Favoring "a concerted action by all groups" of workers in the city, Blecher calls for PBA to work closely with other unions, "with Victor Gotbaum's people," the large body of municipal workers in District Council 37.

Blecher is aware of the effect racism has on the police, though he tends to emphasize the notion that the racial issue is purely one of class. IN THESE TIMES asked him about the PBA's providing bail for officer Torsney, recently arrested for an apparently unprovoked killing of a young black boy. Blecher was seeking support from the Guardians, the organization of black police officers. But the Guardians response to the Torsney incident has been to threaten to withdraw from PBA.

"Their response is a symptom of the disease," he replies, but Blecher preferred not to comment upon the Torsney case itself, about which he argues he does not have the facts and which is before the courts. The issue, as he sees it, is that blacks have never felt they were part of PBA or are represented by it. If he felt as isolated as they did, he answers, he would have the same "gut reaction." But Blecher believes that with full representation for blacks within PBA, a similar incident would have a different conclusion. Finally, he believes that unless the PBA reforms itself and builds a truly representative institution, it may collapse.

►Restructure the PBA.

Hence, he calls for a constitutional con-

vention to restructure the PBA along democratic lines, based upon "a united rank and file, acting collectively in a democratic manner." Why, he was asked, "socialist concepts?" Doesn't that have a negative connotation to most police officers? and won't it hurt his chances for election?

►Blecher says no.

"We're dealing with despair in the city of New York," he answers, "with workers being laid off and with management prospering; their situation sanctified by the City Hall bureaucracy. When I talk of socialist principles I address myself to the plight of the police officer," not to a general criticism of American capitalism. But he argues that socialism is relevant since to him it is composed of principles based on truth, and he is a "delegate representing workers." It means, he states, "a fair and equitable distribution of the means of life as it pertains to the police officer; wages, hours and all the rest." It means destroying the class system that erodes the worker's rights and has an "adverse effect on their lives."

Blecher hopes that his program and attack on the police aristocracy will present police officers with their first real choice since the PBA gained recognition. He plans to begin his campaign next week with a series of three outdoor rallies in front of the police headquarters. Whether or not the rank-and-file cop will see things his way will soon be put to the test.

Ronald Radosh is an author and historian who teaches at the City University of New York.

Letters

Down with the double standard

Editor:

Much of the left wing press is disturbing because it is libertarian at home but supports authoritarian regimes abroad. Whatever humanism is or is meant to be, it ought not by any definition be ideological solidarity with oppressors because they share the same politics and the victims do not.

On the contrary, humanism is at its best when concern is shown for political enemies as human beings. Anything else is pure fakery.

I find it amusing that the right wing sends me letters accusing me of pro-communism because of my pro-labor opinions, and the left wing letters accuse me of pro-fascism because of my libertarian view as it concerns communist regimes (but not as it concerns fascist regimes such as the Chilean junta), almost as if any concern for human rights in said regimes is a betrayal of the cause. It never dawns on such leftists that the uncritical support of left wing dictatorships is the more real betrayal.

Until the American left applies a universal standard to basic civil liberties (including the right to strike) it will be talking and writing to itself.

The conservatism that the left often accuses American workers of harboring might have more to do with the left romance with totalitarianism than with the exotic co-optation theories of Herbert Marcuse. In my view this is not conservatism at all, but an understandable fear of the left and its totalitarian tendencies and, more positively, a valid progressive concern particularly for trade union rights.

I spent over 20 years as a manual laborer in mostly low-wage jobs (the best money I ever made was in a pipe shop for about a year) and I met two or three socialists. Since joining the literati I have met dozens of socialists, mainly white collar and middle or upper-middle class. Something is wrong in that sociological portrait. That something is the elitist views and life style of the Socialist.

As it stands now, socialist rhetoric acts as a steam valve for disenchanted intellectuals, frustrated workers and a gratis think tank for capitalism.

If this letter is construed as a yahoo right wing blast at socialism then I am wasting my time.

Your bread and butter labor stuff is damn good.

—Mike Lavelle
Chicago

Editor's note: Mike Lavelle writes the Blue Collar Views column for the Chicago Tribune.

Pseudo-intellectual six-foot children

Editor:

As expected, President Carter has granted pardons to Vietnam era draft resisters.

It seems that many years of affluent, soft living have changed many Ameri-

cans into flabby, bleeding-heart, forgive-and-forget slobs.

Today far too many pampered, cocky, immature youth decide for themselves in which way they will or will not participate. In any future war, thousands of these vociferous, undisciplined, pseudo-intellectual six-foot children will have a precedent to ensure future forgiveness, so they will once more scamper like rats to various sanctuaries to escape the draft or the discipline of military life.

It bodes ill for any nation whose leaders simper about possible amnesty and pardon for war deserters and evaders, particularly when faced with truculent, sanguinary, malevolent Communist enemies whose goal is the eventual defeat of the free world nations!

R. Blagden
East Hampton, Ct.

Self-serving bullshit

Editor:

Bonne Nesbitt's article on heart disease (*ITT*, Feb. 9) contained a bit of my profession's self-serving bullshit that ought to be pointed out.

Dr. Charles Vil is quoted as saying that "once you get the medical treatment there's a pretty good chance you'll survive [a heart attack]." What he implies is that the medical care is responsible for the good chance to survive—It isn't. It is the time lapse. If you survive the first few moments *with or without medical care*, your survival chances are good.

You gotta watch us.

—Pat Clement, M.D.
New Haven, Ct.

John L. Lewis would have enjoyed the show

Editor:

You reported (*ITT*, Feb. 23) that neither I nor Genora Dollinger were invited to the joint GM-UAW celebration of the first 40 years of unionization at GM.

I was invited by both the joint committee and by the union. But I didn't attend, and sent the following mailgram instead:

Irving Bluestone
Director
General Motors Dept. - UAW

Thanks for the invitation to reception jointly sponsored by UAW and General Motors to commemorate the 40th anniversary of first GM-UAW agreement. Regret I'm no longer strong enough to brave a Michigan winter.

Special honor is due the thousands of rank and filers who risked their all in the freezing cold of 1937 to stand up — and also to sit down — for the simple right to organize. In those days none of us could have imagined the warm spirit of mutuality suffusing tonight's St. Regis banquet. If only Wyndham Mortimer, the UAW's first elected vice president, and John L. Lewis, founder of the CIO, were alive to enjoy this celebration. Such an event was surely far from their minds when they signed for the union on that historic dotted line.

In the course of the 40 years and a great many struggles our union has spread far beyond the original 17 GM plants, and the organizing still continues — for which the workers in the Monroe,

La., guide lamp plant have cause to be grateful to Irving Bluestone, the GM department and all the UAW staff.

Perhaps our GM host, Mr. Morris, doesn't know that 40 years ago corporation spokesmen said that if the union won it would "wreck" General Motors. But last year the corporation is reported to have made a billion dollars in profit. It would seem to me that a considerable slice of that profit should be shared not just with highly paid executives, but also with the workers who made it possible and clearly haven't wrecked the ship.

—Bob Travis
San Pedro, Calif.

Atlas shrugs

Editor:

Your reporting on housing and the community action movement is less than I expected.

An example is the report on the Arlington Heights Supreme Court case, which held that suburban zoning laws that had the effect of excluding blacks did not contravene the Constitution unless it could be proved that their intent was to discriminate. The article singles out the Supreme Court and restrictive zoning as the main culprits for segregated housing. This leaves the impression that all we have to do is change the Supreme Court and start suing again.

While triumph in the courts may break down zoning restrictions and allow a few upwardly mobile blacks to escape the ghetto, it will do little to provide decent housing for the majority of blacks.

Suburban integration will occur only after we reduce inequality of income, get rid of the mortgage finance system, and socialize the housing industry. Effecting these changes depends upon the strength of a mass-based popular movement committed to these goals.

Advocates of integrated housing (besides the well-meaning anti-discrimination groups) come from the more enlightened sectors of the capitalist class who view dispersing low income minorities into the suburbs as a desirable way to close the gap between jobs and employment growth in the suburbs and the unemployed in the cities. With high energy costs, opening up the suburbs for housing where jobs exist makes sense.

But which suburbs? The older white ethnic or the already integrated suburbs that are least politically resistant? We will have the busing explosion all over again with whites battling blacks, heading off joint action by workers and poor people against monopoly capital.

The danger in your report is that American radicals and reformers, especially with the growth of free legal services and public interest lawyers, are enamored of litigation as a tool for change. Yet, litigation per se has had little or nothing to do with bringing about social change for the poor and minorities.

John Atlas
Shelterforce
31 Chestnut St.
East Orange, N.J. 07018

Russia was not doomed

Editor:

In your editorial (*ITT*, Feb. 9) you comment on "Repression in Russia and Eastern Europe" and claim to explain

"why the Soviets and the Eastern European governments are the way they are" by reference to their histories. I would suggest that until you get your facts straight, you are not competent to increase your readers' understanding of the problem of the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe.

You state "The semi-feudal czarist regime that the Bolsheviks overthrew was the most repressive and bureaucratic of all of Europe." My quibble is not with your characterization of the government of Nicholas II, but rather with your belief that the Bolsheviks had no role in the planning of these uprisings. The Bolsheviks eventually succeeded the Provisional Government in November 1917—a Provisional Government which had failed to solve Russia's problems, but which had certainly installed the trappings of Western democracy.

You further state that Russia lacked democratic experience or tradition. Russia had a revolutionary movement in the 19th century that had a democratic society as its goal. Although the avowedly authoritarian Bolsheviks eventually triumphed, the Mensheviks, the Populists as represented by Herzen, Lavrov, and Mikhailovsky, and the anarchists who followed Kropotkin were all in the Western democratic tradition. There were also constitutional groups that were at least as popular as the Bolsheviks before the November 1917 revolution. Russia was not doomed to an authoritarian government. With increased education and broader horizons, the democratic tradition may be revived. It is doubtful whether President Carter's policies will be helpful in achieving this aim. There should be no policy, though, which is based on the misinformation and misconceptions contained in your editorial.

—Stuart R. Grover
Wittenberg University
Springfield, Ohio

Quality analysis

Editor:

Just received my first issue of *IN THESE TIMES* (Jan. 9) and am impressed enough to do the unusual and write a note of congratulations. I subscribe to a great number of political journals, pamphlets and magazines and, sadly enough, seldom read them thoroughly or consistently. This is partly a problem of not having enough hours in the day, but too often with the style of the publication. I sat down to look at *IN THESE TIMES* after dinner and after a quick perusal of our local paper and found myself reading virtually every article.

As an ex-American now living in Canada I find it a little difficult getting quality analysis of current political trends. From 'left' publications I get almost total condemnation of any political developments in established politics which too often reads like sour grapes. How refreshing to read that Carter has a Secretary of Agriculture that has some good points. The piece on Klein was fascinating and so much more than *Newsweek* could ever offer. Likewise the article on China, while not a 'new' perspective, was right on. Most attractive is the size of the articles.

All the best for the future.

—Steve Doquid
Langley, B.C.
Canada



Simon Rosenblum

An open letter to the PLO: It's time to recognize Israel is here to stay

Over the years I have written and spoken in support of your rights. I have identified with left-wing Zionists who worked from the '20s through the '40s to establish Arab-Jewish cooperation within a bi-national framework. Bi-nationalists argued that the manner of Zionist settlement in Palestine was to a significant extent predicated upon the destruction of your society. Unfortunately, this did indeed happen. While we may disagree over whether Zionism can properly be labelled as "racist" or whether it is simply a product of imperialism, we can agree that mainstream Zionism was an enemy to your people.

But history can only be transcended, not reversed. Israel was created through a process of colonization, but it is now a legitimate nation. If peace has any chance in the Middle East, the Israeli people must be granted the unconditional right of self-determination. Palestine must be divided so that each party will have a fair share. The return to 1967 borders by Israel and the creation of a Palestinian state on the West Bank of the Jordan River and the Gaza Strip, accompanied by repatriation or compensation of Palestinian refugees by Israel is the most favorable realistic outcome. Palestinians, you are faced with an opportunity to establish your own state and give up the futile fight against impossible odds. If the current initiative for peace is not seized the seeds of a new war will quickly take root.

►Signs of change.

Recently there have been signs of a pragmatic and moderate PLO approach toward Israel—not an outright repudiation of the goal to create a secular and democratic Palestine, but indirect indications that the PLO will accept an independent entity on the West Bank and Gaza and recognize the existence of Israel. In December a PLO leader met in Paris with the chairman of the Israeli Council for Israeli-Palestinian Peace, Matti Peled, who announced on Israeli television on Jan. 1 that he and an undisclosed PLO leader signed a document "accepting the Israel

Council's principles as the basis for continuing meetings with us and possible future negotiations with the government." One of the Israeli Council's principles is "that the only path to peace is through co-existence between two sovereign states, each with its distinct national identity." The unnamed PLO leader, described by Peled as being "in charge of coordinating the peace efforts of the PLO," has been assumed to be Issam Sartawi. Sartawi recently said in New York that the Middle East has reached "an historical turning point that should be seized." Without question current relations between the PLO and the Israeli peace camp constitute a hopeful milestone and support Henry Kissinger's belief that "objective conditions for progress in the Middle East are better now than they have been perhaps at any time since the creation of the state of Israel."

Yet the Israeli government continues to ignore the moderate trends of the PLO and adamantly refuses to consider a West Bank-Gaza Palestinian state. Israeli doves have demonstrated that "there is somebody to talk to" but without a fundamental change in the Palestinian covenant the Israeli people will not regard current PLO moderation as being any more than a tactical move. This suspicion was only reinforced by the PLO denial of the Sartawi/Israeli Council document.

A recent opinion poll shows that nearly half of Israel's citizens favor peace talks, after the PLO recognizes the Israeli state. In December the PLO Central Council accepted a "half-a-loaf" settlement—a separate Palestinian state. The PLO has always vowed that it would accept nothing less than the elimination of the state of Israel, but has changed its position over the last two years. However, it has not yet formally abandoned the objective of a secular democratic Palestine.

►The final solution.

A West Bank-Gaza State must be a final solution, not only a step toward some ultimate PLO goal. Such a state must not be

seen as a base from which to continue the armed struggle for Israel's liquidation. This understanding seems implicit in much of the PLO's recent actions, but that is insufficient to counter the Israeli government's charges that a West Bank-Gaza Palestinian state would be an aggressive neighbor possessing Soviet-supplied weapons within the city of Jerusalem and 15 miles from Tel Aviv.

There is great doubt whether a Palestinian state in need of massive aid for its development and rehabilitation of refugees—aid that will come primarily from the anti-Soviet rich oil states—will either desire or be able to risk a pro-Soviet orientation. Furthermore, rather than being a secure base the proposed state would make it easier for Israel to hit back at any attacks against it. De-militarization of such a state is essentially a bogus issue. But a just and lasting peace must, in the words of Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338, include the "termination of all claims or states of belligerency" and acknowledgement of the right of every state in the area "to live in peace within secure and recognized boundaries free from threats or acts of force."

This brings us back to the Palestinian National Charter, or covenant, which commits the PLO to the liberation of all Palestine. According to Sartawi, the PLO presently refuses to acknowledge Israel's right to exist because "recognition comes at the end of the process of negotiating peace, not before it starts. We cannot give up our best bargaining card at the start."

And, in fact, recognition of Israel is the PLO's major bargaining card, but it cannot be played as a trump card, although as a lead it could strengthen peace-oriented groups in Israel.

It would be a big mistake to exaggerate the limited number of Israeli doves. Rabin narrowly defeated hawkish Defense Minister Peres in his effort to win the leadership of the Labor party, and his maneuverability is limited because of differences in the party. Even more ominous, Labor may be thrown out of office in the May

elections and replaced by an even more intransigent right.

If Rabin is to be re-elected and the peace parties are to gain leverage, the PLO must renounce the covenant when the Palestine National Council convenes its March meeting. The PLO would be making a great error if they postpone the council meeting until late in the spring because the results of the Israeli election can be affected by renunciation of the PLO charter.

The PLO leadership presently seems to be counting on the Arab states' promises to the Palestinians. Such an approach has been disastrous for Palestinians in the past, and Sadat's recent suggestions of links between the PLO and Jordan should be seen as a squeeze on the PLO to accept less than a separate and independent Palestinian state. Unless the PLO adopts a specific program advocating a West Bank-Gaza state and recognizing the legitimacy of the State of Israel, the Arab governments will bargain away Palestinian interests and the U.S. will not be pressured to recognize a separate Palestinian state. Ironically Israel, by not permitting West Bank delegates (pro-recognition moderates) to attend the council meeting, is effectively blocking the initiatives within the PLO to recognize the Zionist state.

One crucial point must be understood. The issues of peace and war, recognition or non-recognition of Israeli and Palestinian rights, cannot be objects of tactical games. They must be spelled out clearly and unequivocally. A settlement cannot be imposed on Israel. The Israeli people must accept it, even if they do not enthusiastically greet it. Only the immediate revision of the Palestinian covenant will allow the current seeds of peace to bear fruit. Remember: the roots of war are already planted.

Simon Rosenblum is a Canadian whose writings have appeared in Israel, Lebanon, France and the U.S.

Dan Marshall

Was Sadlowski out of joint with the times?

The election campaign of Ed Sadlowski for president of the United Steel Workers (USW) attracted unprecedented attention from the national media and vitriolic attacks from other union officials. Based on Sadlowski's militant rhetoric and tough-talking style, the press painted him as a ghost from the past, as someone who would return the labor movement to the industrial warfare of the 1930s.

Much of Sadlowski's appeal to rank-and-file steelworkers—and to the left/liberal "outsiders" who worked in his campaign and supported him financially—was based on this let's-go-out-and-fight-the-bosses image and on his commitment to greater union democracy. But Sadlowski's emphasis on the strike weapon, and his call for unionists to adopt a purely adversary relationship to management, may have been his undoing.

It's all but impossible for labor to return to the fighting days of the 1930s. With massive government intervention in the economy and the flowering of multinational corporations, strikes are not as capable of raising workers' real wages as they once were.

In the case of steel, the threat every three years of a nationwide strike meant stockpiling, layoffs, and the loss of jobs due to automation and cheap foreign imports of steel. In less capital-intensive industries, strikes provide a convenient excuse for companies to pick up and run away to the non-union South or abroad.

For public employees, strikes have often generated tremendous public hostility that local governments and the courts have been able to exploit successfully in anti-union measures. Last year's San Francisco craft workers strike was an example.

For this reason, labor unions have been seeking alternatives to the simple exercise of their "economic muscle." Jerry Wurf of AFSCME, for example, has proposed compulsory arbitration for some public employees. Progressive trade union leaders like William Winpisinger of the Machinists union have turned to organizations like the Institute of Collective Bargaining, which actively promotes labor/management cooperation, and to an emphasis on redistributing income in the U.S. away from capital.

In the USW, I.W. Abel turned to the Experimental Negotiating Agreement to deal with a dire situation. The major problem with the ENA was that it was negotiated behind closed doors without an opportunity for the membership to participate or to vote on the final proposal.

The best explanation I've heard for Sadlowski's defeat is that many union members perceived him as "strike-happy." There was apparently a large turnout of older workers who feared that Sadlowski's opposition to the ENA meant that he would return union members to the days of strike threats, stockpiling and layoffs. Sadlowski's image and rhetoric increased this fear.

Sadlowski also lost heavily in Canada, where Landrum-Griffin protections do not apply. McBride triumphed there because he was running with Lynn Williams, a Canadian social democrat and a founding member of the New Democratic Party.

Sadlowski's campaign was in many ways positive. It indicated an enormous amount of rank-and-file dissatisfaction with union policies. It will act as a constant pressure on McBride's future policies. Steelworkers Fight Back is clearly committed to strengthening the rank-and-file movement in the union and Sadlowski's campaign provided it with contacts throughout the country.

Nor is Sadlowski's defeat a disaster. But he lost in part because he advocated an approach that is essentially a throw-back to a different period in the growth of American capitalism.

The left needs to formulate a more sophisticated, broader conception of trade union tactics and strategy, one that comprehends the multi-faceted nature of the class struggle today. That conflict is not just between labor and management in a given plant or company, but is equally centered in the political arena where the ruling class directs the entire social structure and where many decisions are made that affect the economy, capital's options and the living conditions of the working class as a whole.

In 1977 the bosses are not just sitting in corporate boardrooms plotting ingen-

ious ways to buy off labor aristocrats. They are organized in the Business Roundtable, the National Association of Manufacturers, the Chamber of Commerce, the Trilateral Commission and other well-heeled groups that attempt to shape government policy to their profit priorities. As political institutions, labor unions are in the forefront, trying to counteract that power.

Meanwhile, what the left often denounces as simple class collaboration may be a complex trade-off where unions relinquish something to gain greater job security for their own members or more political power. The ENA has stabilized the steel industry to the extent that negotiators can realistically discuss union demands for lifetime job security. While the specific provisions of this arrangement are not yet defined, it could signal a significant breakthrough on what issues are negotiated in contract talks and in limiting management prerogatives to cut the workforce at its discretion.

In general, socialists should be very cautious not to romanticize strikes as the most pure form of the class struggle, but to examine all the ways the ruling class maintains societal hegemony and how labor unions and other working-class institutions can effectively fight the domination. ■

LIFE IN THE U.S.

San Francisco's unorthodox sheriff

Photo by Gary Freedman

I was a philosophy major, working my way through San Francisco State, and I was looking for the best-paying night job I could find, so I became a San Francisco policeman.

By Art Goldberg

San Francisco. "The prospect of going to jail is not inviting," the sheriff told the media as he left the courtroom, "but the San Francisco County Jail is a very safe place—for this sheriff or any other inmate."

As San Francisco's sheriff, Richard Hongisto's major duty is to run the two county jail facilities. He is also charged with carrying out court-ordered evictions.

Because he failed to evict 80 elderly tenants from Chinatown's International Hotel last month, Hongisto was cited for contempt of court, and sentenced to five days in jail—not in San Francisco, but in adjacent San Mateo county. (ITT, Feb. 16)

The sentence is being appealed, not because Hongisto fears becoming a prisoner, but because if the contempt finding is upheld, he could be removed from office. That would delight a number of conservative San Franciscans, particularly Quentin Kopp, the powerful president of the Board of Supervisors.

Hongisto's persistent demands over the years for better food, better medical care, more recreation facilities, clean bedding and expanded educational programs for inmates, has angered the tight-fisted Kopp. Those things cost money, and Kopp would prefer to spend it on "property tax relief" for homeowners and businesses rather than on prisoners, 98 percent of whom, Hongisto estimates, are poor, working class, and minority people.

When, on top of this, Hongisto maintained that his undermanned department would be unable to evict the International Hotel's tenants because of the possibility of a violent conflict, other voiced were added to Kopp's. "The reason the eviction hasn't taken place," snarled Judge John Benson during a court hearing, "is because the sheriff hasn't wanted it to."

►No ordinary sheriff.

San Franciscans have been aware for some time now that Hongisto isn't an ordinary sheriff. His mild, unpretentious manner, his unorthodox appointments, his advocacy of inmates rights and his avoidance of the usual "law and order" rhetoric set him apart immediately.

Underneath that exterior though, Hongisto has demonstrated that he can be tough and resilient. From the moment he first took office in January 1972 he's had to cope with strong opposition from mayors and supervisors who say they want to improve jail conditions, but never seem able to find the necessary funds to do so.

Nevertheless, from the outset the sheriff waged a public and private campaign to increase his department's budget. With the extra money he completely repainted the jails, upgraded the quality of the food (he's still unsatisfied with it), vastly improved medical and dental care (he built a new, four chair dental clinic), installed more showers so prisoners could bathe more than once a week, and obtained new laundry equipment, so clothes and bedding could be kept clean.

These were the basic and obvious things everyone knew had to be done if prisoners were to be treated like human beings, but Hongisto had to fight for almost every single increased appropriation. At one point he encouraged a group of inmates to sue him and other city officials in federal court as a means of forcing more revenue into the jail budget.

At the same time the sheriff had to battle hostility from a large group of deputies who were not taken with his progressive approach. Those who continued to follow the old "hard line" were pressured to change or to resign. Several deputies were fired for beating prisoners, insulting the public and making degrading racial or ethnic remarks.

"Our deputies belong to the Teamsters union," Hongisto said with a smile in a recent interview, "and some of them had the social attitudes of Attila the Hun."

The departed deputies have for the most part been replaced by women and minorities, plus a number of out-front gays. Given the turnover in personnel and his overwhelming victory in the 1975 elections, Hongisto now feels that those actively trying to undermine his new programs are a small minority within the department.

►Other programs.

Those programs go far beyond improving basic living conditions at the jails. Visiting hours have been expanded, and the sheriff obtained funding to set up a shuttle system to bring friends and relatives in on visiting days. In addition, a children's playground has been built at the main facility. The jail now has a law library, and a staff of volunteer attorneys to assist inmates with their legal problems.

He has also set up job training, job counseling and job finding programs at the jail, run mainly by volunteers he has recruited. Hongisto sees this as one way of assuring that the same people do not keep returning to jail. "The most important thing is for the inmate to have a job before he gets out," the sheriff said, recognizing that poverty is a major cause of crime. "We have to get them jobs and give them job preparation while they're still in jail."

Hongisto has learned that most county jail prisoners are either illiterate or semi-illiterate. Therefore he built six new classrooms and talked someone into donating a \$3,000 reading machine. He has found that education makes people more verbal and therefore better able to cope with the world and with those around them. He places no restrictions on what prisoners can read, and encourages classes in government and political economy.

"In some ways," he commented, "you can say that the people who become the most revolutionary in jail are the ones who are the most rehabilitated. They have a clear understanding of the way society works."

►Reducing overcrowding.

Hongisto has also made strides in reducing overcrowding at the jails. He has done this by looking for alternatives to incarceration. Psychologically disturbed inmates get special medical treatment, alcoholics are dispatched almost immediately to a nearby hospital and a good number of inmates are simply paroled early. The parole project has been singularly successful, with few parolees finding their way back to jail or prison. It's now being looked upon as a model project for the rest of California.

San Francisco's sheriff has also created a Women's Service Unit to deal in depth with the special problems of women inmates, located post-release housing for prisoners at affordable rents and opened an outreach office in a working class part of the city, where former inmates can go for help and counselling.



Richard Hongisto, San Francisco's Sheriff: "There is some question as to whether prisons ever rehabilitate anyone, but there is little doubt that they can destroy people when they're not properly run."

He has also pressed for prison reform legislation at the state capitol.

I wondered how he ever got involved in law enforcement. "I was a philosophy major, working my way through San Francisco State," he said with a smile, "and I was looking for the best paying night job I could find, so I became a San Francisco policeman. Then I saw how screwed up the department was, so I decided to stay and try to do something about it."

He stayed for ten years, spending most of that time with the Community Relations Division, working in the Haight and in Hunter's Point, a predominantly black area. He declined to join the Police Officers Association and instead became the only white member of Officers for Justice.

In the late '60s the police department abandoned community relations for "riot control." Soon afterwards Hongisto resigned. He went to work as a reporter for a public television station and at the same time went to graduate school in criminology. In 1971 he went to Cuba as a journalist, and later that year decided to run for sheriff.

"I knew the jail system was incredibly bad," he said, "and I wanted to see it cleaned up. I felt there was nobody running who could do the job." The incumbent sheriff had decided not to run again after a drinking problem became front page news. Hongisto ran against three law and order types and scored an upset victory.

"I decided quite a while ago," he explained, "that as long as I have to work,

it would be in public service. My father was an ironworker and from the time I was a kid the idea of someone else making a profit from my labor never appealed to me."

►Conflict with Gov. Brown.

He realizes that his outlook is in direct conflict with Gov. Jerry Brown's view that "prisons are for punishment."

"There is some question as to whether prisons ever rehabilitate anyone," Hongisto said, "but there is little doubt that they can destroy people when they're not properly run." He believes Brown is ignoring that aspect of the problem. He is disturbed that about one inmate a year died in his jail, although more than five died each year before he took over.

If the contempt citation is upheld on appeal and there is an attempt to remove him from office, it will be an interesting battle. More than any other public official in the city Hongisto has attempted to involve the public in the workings of his department. He has developed strong ties to many of San Francisco's communities.

The results of his outreach effort were evident in the 1975 elections. Despite adverse media coverage during most of his first term and criticism from the mayor, supervisors, and a hostile Grand Jury, he received more votes than any other candidate on the ballot. Running close behind him in total votes was the person most likely to try to remove him, conservative supervisor Quentin Kopp.

Art Goldberg is a writer living in San Francisco.

Arts and crafts may be hazardous to health

By Ben Achtenberg

A worker spends more than six months in a New York hospital with a severe case of aplastic anemia. Seventy-five percent of his bone marrow (which produces red blood cells) has been destroyed.

A Boston woman visits her family doctor with rather vague symptoms which he diagnoses as "over-35 blues." But she gets worse, feels nauseated and irritable, begins to fall down and slur her words.

Each of them is suffering the effects of working with toxic chemicals yet neither clocks in every morning at a DuPont or Dow plant. They are artists, examples of a health problem that is only beginning to come to public attention.

The New York man is a well-known lithographer. Doctors traced his rare condition to his 25 years exposure to benzol, a common component of solvents used in many art processes. The Boston woman went to six doctors before the cause of her illness was pinned down. Her symptoms might have been less puzzling to the doctors had they thought to ask her what she does for a living. She had lead poisoning, a result of her work creating stained glass ornaments.

►Among the earliest of occupational diseases.

Accidental poisoning of painters by lead, mercury and arsenic in their pigments are among the earliest "occupational diseases" commented on in medical literature. Yet many artists and craftspeople—professionals as well as hobbyists—remain almost totally unaware that the techniques they are using may endanger their health and the health of their families. Few art schools deal with the hazards of art materials or teach proper safety precautions. Even many doctors are unfamiliar with work-related material hazards, and symptoms are frequently misdiagnosed or ignored.

Many traditional media include hazardous components: cadmium, chrome and manganese, as well as lead, are used in oil paints and some ceramic glazes. Van Gogh's insanity may have at least partly resulted from lead poisoning if he shared the not-uncommon habit of licking his brushes to the proper shape. Turpentine can cause severe allergic reactions, as can some wood dusts. Silica dust from pottery and metal casting can lead to silicosis (traditionally known as "potters' rot"), a lung disease related to miners' black lung.

But the problem has increased as art and craft workers have begun experimenting with modern industrial substances and techniques, including plastics, aerosol sprays, photo chemicals, welding and soldering, and so on. The components of polyurethane foams, to take only one example can cause chronic asthma and sometimes fatal allergic reactions.



Photo by Ben Achtenberg

Etching studio, Boston. Protective respirator in use while working with plates in acid bath. Acid etching is done, in this studio, in an enclosed booth with an exhaust fan to the outside.

►Art Hazards Resource Center.

Michael McCann, a biochemist, was visiting a silkscreen artist who had complained about nausea and headaches. Looking around the studio, Dr. McCann found that one of the solvents his friend was using contained benzol. Though the can's label had the usual warning not to drink the stuff and to use it with adequate ventilation, it failed to mention that benzol can also be absorbed through the skin and that effects of repeated small exposures can build up and cause permanent damage. Besides anemia, benzol (also known as benzene) is suspected of causing leukemia, and can cause fetal damage in the babies of women who are exposed.

McCann has now founded the Art Hazards Resource Center in New York, to research and distribute information on these problems. Benzol has become a prime target, one of several materials (also including asbestos) he feels are so dangerous that there is no way artists can use them safely.

Most are known or suspected cancer-causing agents and, as McCann notes, "There simply is no known safe exposure limit for a carcinogen." He feels these products should be banned from the consumer market.

Another special concern of McCann's is the exposure of children. Because of their smaller body weights and the fact that they are still developing, children are especially sensitive to toxic materials. Yet, McCann says, "I still know of pottery studios teaching children with lead glazes. I walked into one classroom where the kids were throwing the stuff at each other—that's just criminal." He also feels organic solvents should be avoided, which means that classes in painting and printmaking for children should stick to water-based inks and paints.

"When a person learns a technique," argues McCann, "they should learn the hazards involved, and how to work safely with it." He is critical of art schools in this

respect, and cites the example of a recent inspection at Cooper Union's School of Art and Architecture in New York, which found dangerous levels of fumes and dusts as well as unsafe procedures in several departments. Forty percent of the school's students reported some material-related health problems.

►Old attitudes make it difficult.

The problems inherent in the materials are aggravated by the attitudes of some artists who see themselves as a special elite. They find it uncomfortable to see themselves as workers, sharing the same hazards as factory workers. Faced with the realities of the artist's situation in America, however, many of these attitudes are breaking down. Sculptor Blossom Neuschatz distributed a statement during her show at the Bronx Museum which said, in part: "In spite of the present safety and health regulations on the books, one out of every three to four working people in the U.S. suffer from a work-related illness or injury. Artists today use these very same toxic materials.... Artists don't even have whatever protection is available to other workers. They don't belong to unions. They are self-employed, usually working alone...."

There are signs of a growing solidarity among artists, and a determination to deal with the safety issue collectively. The National Art Workers Community has issued a resolution stating that "Artists and craftspeople, like other workers, have a right to work in a safe environment," and demanding improved government protection. Among the legislation they want are regulations requiring full labelling of all materials, as well as testing of newly-introduced substances.

The Boston Visual Artists Union has a project to try to get information from manufacturers on what's in their products. Other groups are talking about co-operative ventures to create safer studies. The idea of national boycotts against suppliers of the most hazardous materials is also in the wind.

New York's Foundation for the Community of Artists has published Michael McCann's *Health Hazards Manual for Artists*, and McCann also writes a regular column for the *Art Workers News* and other publications.

Artists' organizations have a discouraging history, and have rarely had much political impact. Attitudes aside, the economic isolation of most artists and crafts workers makes it difficult for them to organize effectively. Yet they have many problems in common with each other and with other workers, and movements in the direction of common action seem to be gaining strength. In the last analysis, artists may be forced to organize to protect their health and the health of their families.

Ben Achtenberg is a writer and filmmaker in Boston.

Military budget

Continued from page 3.

ment" to this year's federal budget. They call for a shift of \$13.6 billion from the military budget to programs designed to create jobs and social services.

The two organizations came together at the Pittsburgh conference to develop a joint strategy in opposition to the B-1 and the military budget that each could use in their efforts. Closer coordination between the two coalitions and the possibility of joint actions in the future were agreed upon.

The efforts of the Stop the B-1 campaign, in conjunction with other groups around the country, have already had a significant impact. There is little doubt that without its public pressure Congress would already have approved full production of the bomber fleet. Last September, after being flooded with letters against the B-1, Congress voted to let the next administration decide the bomber's fate.

The groups expect to continue pressuring Carter and Congress until the program is finally and totally scrapped.

The campaign to win a "Transfer Amendment" represents a new step for the antimilitary forces. With its new budget procedures, Congress now has the ability to look at the federal budget as a whole and to decide how much money should be spent in each category. In short, Congress can now clearly determine the spending priorities of the American government. This process also provides the mechanism to transfer funds from one category of the budget to another.

►Great potential in Transfer Amendment.

Brewster Rhoads, on the staff of the Coalition for a New Foreign and Military Policy, sees the transfer process as having great potential for the development of a movement to reorder national priorities.

"We think that a very broad range of groups will actively support this effort. Labor unions, community groups and economic justice organizations all need additional funds for their particular concerns—whether it be for jobs or social services. The transfer strategy offers a concrete way to redirect tax dollars from the Pentagon to the needs of local communities."

He adds that "while we don't have any illusions about passing such an amendment this year, we are confident that if we can build a strong and effective campaign, we can win important victories in The Congress and in the not-so-distant future. From a longer perspective we view this strategy as a way to build alliances between the peace movement and what is commonly thought of as 'mainstream America.'"

The coalition has developed a model Transfer Amendment that it is using as an organizing tool. Their goal is to get community organizations and unions to endorse the concept and content of the amendment. Congressional representa-

tives will then be pressured to vote for similar transfers as the Congress adopts the budget this spring.

The model amendment calls for specific changes in foreign policy, indicating how much money would be saved by each reform. Proposed changes include a four-year phased withdrawal of American troops from Asia, an end to covert CIA intervention, an end to aid to repressive governments, a halt to nuclear weapons production and testing, and cancellation of unnecessary weapons systems including the B-1 bomber. Some \$13.6 billion would be saved by these changes in U.S. policy.

The model then specifies where funds should go, including assistance for displaced workers, child care, minority employment, public service jobs, education and international hunger and development assistance. Supporters point out that adoption of such a Transfer Amendment would also create more than a million new jobs for American workers.

Ken Brociner is host of a weekly radio show in Boston called "Foreign Policy Report."

ART «» ENTERTAINMENT

ART

American artist talks about
(and through) her paintings

GEORGIA O'KEEFFE
Viking Press, N.Y., 1976
108 color reproductions, \$75

Georgia O'Keeffe, the most important living American woman artist, has produced a large, sumptuous and expensive book presenting the artist's own view of her life and work. It is a history of one person's perception of reality and of the attempt to register that vision on paper. O'Keeffe at 89 recounts the biography of her paintings in a language which suits her subject: clean, straight, sharp, simple.

I write because such odd things have been done about me with words. I make this effort because no one else can know how my paintings happen.

It is a portrayal of a journey: from Wisconsin to Virginia to New York to Texas to Maine to New Mexico, from girlhood to womanhood, from apprenticeship to artistry. Done strictly in terms of visual encounters and constructs, no sentimental or personal biography intrudes for its own sake:

Where I was born and where and how I have lived is unimportant. It is what I have done with where I have been that should be of interest.

To take the measure of O'Keeffe's achievement, we must recall the narrow academicism which dominated the art academies in America at the turn of the century. Courage, independence and foresight dictated her reaction: "I decided to start anew—to strip away what I had been taught—to accept as true my own thinking." In rejecting contemporary models, O'Keeffe opted for a kind of freedom in expression unavailable to her in domains other than art:

I can't live where I want to—I can't go where I want—I can't even say what I want to. I decided I was a very stupid fool not to at least paint as I wanted to...

In these words, we sense the en-

cumbrances and restraints experienced by women growing up in puritan, post-Victorian America. O'Keeffe chose to break out of her confinement in color and form, to say the things she had no words for.

In so doing, she developed a vocabulary, a grammar, indeed a whole new language for painting in America. One of the earliest American painters to experiment with abstraction, her works often seem representational. But then, she believes that "Objective painting is not good painting unless it is good in the abstract sense."

No lover of the Machine, she found her subject matter largely in the natural world. Selecting objects from it, she isolated them and magnified them. This process, together with her use of frontal perspective and rich color, forced the viewer to look at the object and see it with new eyes:

A flower is relatively small... nobody sees a flower—really—it is so small. We haven't time, like to have a friend takes time.... I'll paint it big and they will be surprised.... I will make even New Yorkers take time to see what I see of flowers.

O'Keeffe's work moves back and forth between the poles of clarity and mystery, of austerity and sensuousness. The tendency to endow her flower studies and pelvic forms with a heavy symbolism continues to disturb her:

Well—I made you take time to look at what I saw and when you took time to really notice my flower, you hung all your own associations with flowers on my flower...

Georgia O'Keeffe has always known what she was about. Her contempt and amusement at the self-important and trendy "boys" who dominated the art world then (and now) buttressed her determination to avoid their clanish shortsightedness. At the time when they looked toward Europe slavishly for models, ("Cezanne

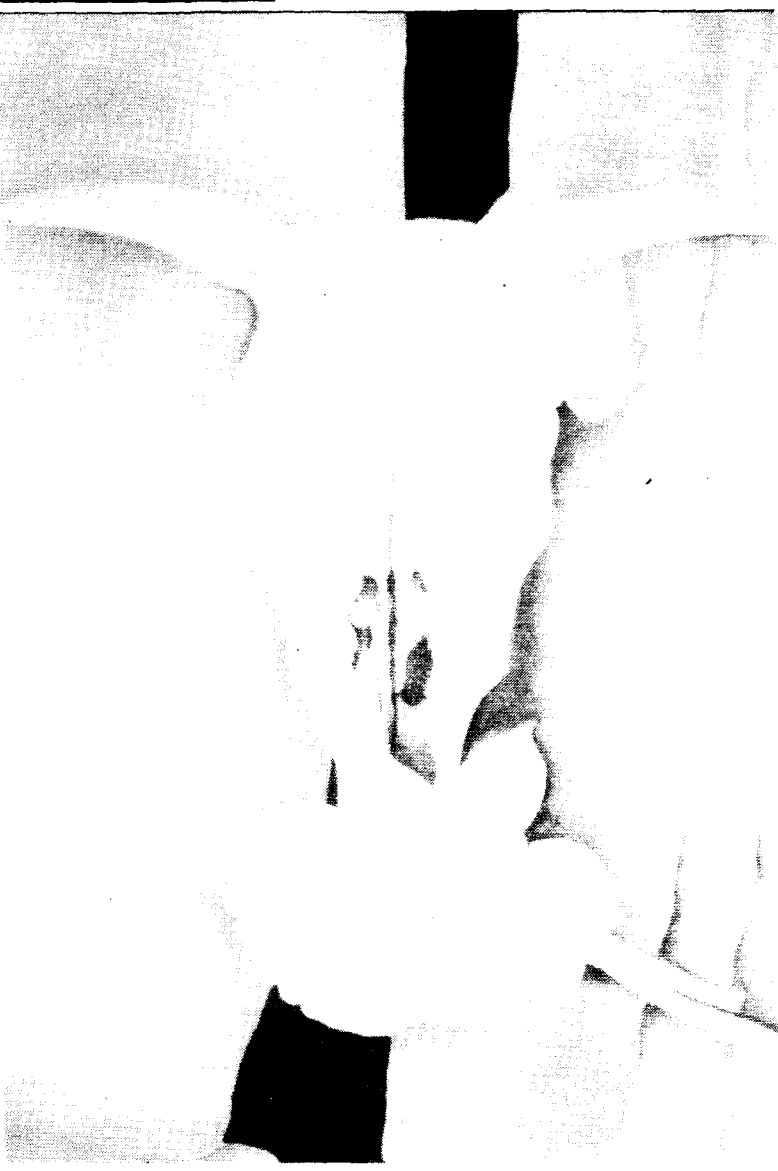
was so much in the air that I think the Great American Painting didn't even seem a possible dream"), O'Keeffe decided, "I'll make an American painting," and she did.

Amateurs and critics will have to decide what is American about her painting; scholars will have to investigate the relationship of her work to that of her contemporaries (in particular, Stieglitz, Dove, Marin, Hartley, Demuth, Sheeler), and to the period in which it was produced. No historical references intrude on this account in words and in images of O'Keeffe's description of "what is to me the wildness and wonder of the world as I live."

At last O'Keeffe's work is available in book form. Unfortunately, only the rich will be able to afford it.

—Sandra Dijkstra

Sandra Dijkstra teaches women's studies at San Diego State University.



BOOKS

Tangled tale of Irish troubles

TRINITY
By Leon Uris
Doubleday, N.Y., \$10.95

If you have been worrying about what keeps Leon Uris' 750-page novel afloat at the top of the best-seller list, I urge you to stop. More often than not, the number one fiction book in the country is more suds than beer. In *Trinity's* case, this doesn't happen to be true. Anyone who is tied by blood, history, or politics to the Northern Irish question will be interested in this large, thickly populated, historical melodrama.

The novel focuses on one Irish peasant family, heirs to the tradition of resistance and revolt against the English landlords, the human crucible in which the modern revolutionary movement was forged. Flashing back in time

to the great potato famine of the mid-19th century and moving toward the Easter Rising of 1916, the story of the Larkin clan intertwines with that of the English overlords in the manor house, and with that of a family of Ulster protestants. The three form Uris' well-researched and convincing "trinity," the modern political passion of an Ireland long enslaved by the church and imperial England.

The necessities of plot sometimes overshadow the everyday sorrows of the Irish working class, so clearly delineated in Jimmy Breslin's recent *World without End, Amen*. Uris' prose is plain and unobtrusive (often bland), but the multitude of characters and incidents diffuses his impact. A sparer treatment of the revolutionary movement is

achieved in Canadian writer Shaun Herron's much-underrated *The Whore-Mother*.

But if *Trinity* is not artfully composed, it certainly is professionally constructed. It will probably educate more readers on the subject of Irish nationalism than any ten TV documentaries or newspaper reports. Short of running guns to the I.R.A., Uris could not have devised a better instrument for assisting the anti-colonial struggle in the northern counties than this sentimental, propagandistic, yet absolutely compelling version of a damnable historical question.

—Alan Cheuse

Alan Cheuse is in the English Department at Bennington College (Vt.), and regularly reviews fiction for *In These Times*.

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FILM

Childbirth at home —a lost cause

THE CHICAGO MATERNITY CENTER
STORY

Produced by Kartemquin Educational
Films

Filmmakers: Jerry Blumenthal, Suzanne
Davenport, Sharon Karp, Gordon Quinn,
Jennifer Rohrer

The World Premiere of *The Chicago Maternity Center Story* was held Feb. 12 in a rundown northside Chicago theater. The overflow crowd of around 500 was mostly young women and children. They were with the film all the way, clapping, booing and hissing.

There was an occasional cry from a baby and several toddlers ran in the aisle. Though they were too young to realize it, some of these children were watching a film about the circumstances of their own births; they'd been delivered at home by the Chicago Maternity Center.

For 75 years, the center provided safe home deliveries for Chicago women. By 1974, when it was closed because Northwestern University refused to keep funding it, its largely black and latina clients paid an average of \$50.00 for pre-natal care and delivery. Although Chicago's infant mortality rate is the worst of any large U.S. city (and the U.S. as a whole ranks high in infant deaths among advanced nations), the maternity center's low rate helped keep Chicago's from zooming any higher.

The film weaves between the story of a young black woman and her first baby, born at home, the changes in the board that ran the center and their financial motives for finally closing it, and WATCH, the feminist group that fought unsuccessfully to keep the center open.

Sharene Miller, the young woman whose pregnancy the film follows, turns out to have complications that occur in less than one percent of the births handled by the center. Dr. Beatrice Tucker, the 75-year-old obstetrician, briskly instructs a young intern in the use of forceps, and the baby is born healthy. Although ultimately reassuring about the safety of home birth, the sequence is harrowing. "Makes you think twice about having a baby, doesn't it?" said a young woman sitting near me.

Melodramatic sequences from a 1939 film about the center, *Fight for Life*, are cut into the film. Idealistic young doctors stare into the camera in despair



Photo by Kartemquin Films

as a young woman dies in a hospital delivery room.

The center's board appears in a mugshot style Hollywood reserves for "cons." Under the pictures, where you expect to see the crimes for which they are wanted,

Here are human beings giving needed care—doctors who still make house calls, day or night. No room for that now.

are the names of construction and drug corporations on whose boards they also serve. The interest of these companies dictate large, expensive medical centers and spell death for institutions like the maternity center.

The film shows these captains of industry in confrontation with WATCH, each one looking like a stuffed potato, as they promise to incorporate the maternity center into the new women's hospital they are planning. In the end, only the center's name (so useful for fundraising) remains. The home deliveries and fees scaled to income cease and the board is running one more expensive hospital.

You leave the film with a sense of anger. At a time in her life when the community should be giving her all its support, a woman finds herself among hostile forces, in pain, in need of help. The control of childbirth was taken from women (midwives) in the last century by male doctors. Now the men are replaced by faceless corporations that determine where and how a woman will give birth.

Dr. Tucker, assisting in a home delivery, is an anachronism in today's corporate medical plan. Here are human beings, giving needed care, doctors who

still make house calls, day or night. No room for that now. The funds to keep the center going were a pittance compared to the financial needs of Chicago's health empire, yet somehow the board couldn't find the money.

While it details a single struggle, the film is a damning indictment of the whole health industry. Technically, it's excellent. The childbirth scenes, music and creative use of medical journal ads (one of America's most perverse art forms) are first rate. It won't be shown in many commercial theaters, but health and community groups will use it in the context of their own fights for more human health care. It deserves a wide audience.

—Judy MacLean

(For more information, write
Kartemquin Films, 1901 W.
Wellington, Chicago, IL 60657.)

Canadian pulp workers take over runaway plant

Temiscaming, Quebec

By the National Film Board of Canada
64 minutes, color

Temiscaming, Quebec, is a company town, owned for years by the world's largest pulp and paper empire, International Paper of New York—operating as Canadian International Paper (CIP). In May 1972 CIP shut down its Temiscaming mill. Some 540 employees with an average length of service of 24 years were out of work.

But the workers and their union fought back, demanding that the province find a way to keep the mill open and save the town. Under mounting public pressure, Quebec eventually agreed to back a partnership between the workers and a group of former company executives. *Temiscaming, Quebec*, a new film from the National Film Board of Canada, documents the origins and first year of this experiment in "co-ownership." Directed by Martin Duckworth and produced by Dorothy Todd Henaut, *Temiscaming* takes a realistic and revealing look at some of the problems and promises inherent in new forms of worker/management relations.

Despite government support for the "co-ownership" plan, CIP resisted selling out. In June 1973 it attempted to move the mill's pulpwood reserves downriver to another plant. But com-

pany tugs were met by hastily organized "people's navy" of canoes and fishing boats blocking the river from bank to bank. When the townspeople's symbolic occupation of a bridge between Quebec and Ontario was broken up by riot police, the town became, overnight, a national symbol of resistance to U.S. multinational corporations.

After 14 months of haggling a deal was closed, and the new workers/owners were soon surpassing CIP's past production records.

But the cautious optimism of the film's first half is quickly tempered by disillusion in Part II. While the finances of this unusual "marriage" are prospering, the workers are finding out that "co-ownership" did not necessarily mean co-management." Despite their investment of money and time, they have little control over such vital decisions as the hiring of new supervisors.

In the film's last scene, one worker argues thoughtfully that they have started something that cannot be stopped. "Within five years," he predicts, "we will be managing the mill."

Despite an uneven level of technical quality and what sometimes seems to be unnecessary confusion in key sequences, *Temiscaming, Quebec*, is an important and useful film—and an exciting film to watch.

—Ben Achtenberg

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The young Kunta Kinte.

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MUSIC

The Tubes on the tightrope between satire and decadence

It's the night before All Hallows' Eve, a big moment for the young at heart in the Bay Area, and The Tubes are in royal possession of the stage at the University of Santa Clara.

Fee Weighbill, the primping lead singer for the band, is shouting an unanswerable question that must somehow be turning over like a drugged worm in the Catholic minds of the 6,000 young Americans in the soldout gymnasium:

*What do you want from life,
To kidnap an heiress
and threaten her with a knife?
What do you want from life,
To get cable TV
and watch it every night?*

The sound from the 20-foot tall speaker bank has got to be separating ten miles south of the parking lot, and two freshmen women, I swear to god, have fainted beside me. But The Tubes are essentially a stage act. Fee Weighbill is wrapped in a white-on-white tuxedo suit like a Brooks Brothers mummy, and two assistants in sheer pink rayon dresses are bumping and grinding beside him like perverted hostesses on a television gameshow.

Fee Weighbill, you see, is mimicking Monty Hall, the host of TV's "Let's Make a Deal," down to the last dot of pancake make-up. The song is a parody in operatic rock.

"What do you want from life?" Fee sings again. "If you're an American citizen entitled to..." and now he offers a jaded list of

consumer baubles: "real simulated Indian jewelry," "Bob Dylan's new unlisted telephone number," "a beautifully restored Third Reich swizzle-stick," "a Las Vegas wedding, a Mexican divorce, a solid gold Kama Sutra coffee pot — and a BABY, S: ARM HOLDING AN APPLE!"

The Tubes' act can be seen as heavy social satire — but when you see several hundred Catholic school-children raising their fists in salute to "White Punks on Dope," it makes you wonder...

The Monty Hall assistants have stripped down to the slimmest of leather bikinis secured somehow in the cracks of their asses. They pass giant plastic mockups of baby's arms and gold coffee pots to Fee.

It would be easy to dismiss The Tubes (and Frank Zappa and Alice Cooper) as unreservedly decadent. But "decadent" is one of the most confusing rhetorical slaps in the radical lexicon.

Let's make some distinctions. It was decadent for Baron von Krupp, the Nazi munitions manufacturer, to give solid gold necktie clasps in the shape of miniature bombs to his homosexual lovers. But it was not decadent for him to be gay.

It was decadent for the wife of a 19th century Newport robber baron to give a dinner for her dogs costing \$10,000, while textile strikers starved across the bay in Fall River. But is it really decadent (meaning, as the word does, *in a state of decline*), for the good corporate burghers to enjoy their appropriated lucre in the style they've grown accustomed to? Isn't this just what unequal distribution means?

The distinction is between the outrageous and the decaying. It is too tempting to mislabel every

capitalist outrage; it is falsely hopeful to assume each bizarrry symbolizes the end of the empire.

Now don't get me wrong, please. I'm not about the defend the band. Not after 3,000 Catholic college students raised their fists to the ceiling as the first bars of The Tubes anthem, "White Punks on Dope" smashed through the speakers. Not after the Lewdettes, the band's dance review, pranced through the lyrics to "Mondo Bondage."

I'm just saying that The Tubes tread a thin red line between decadence and satire. Perhaps as the material to be satirized—the stuff of advanced capitalist culture—reaches the infinity of the bizarre, the limits of parody must expand as well.

Or, and I'm convinced of this, perhaps The Tubes play out a rock corollary of an old saw: the best satirists become nihilists in the absence of a mass political movement to change the rot the artists parody so well.

At any rate, The Tubes latest single "Don't Touch Me There," a Phil Spector/Richard Wagner wall-of-sound treatment of a perennially perplexing teen theme, made number one in Australia and climbed respectably on the charts of Mother America. Are the several million Americans who buy and listen to The Tubes decadent fools?

"Nah," corrects a sentence from the last album's liner notes, "only tragically hip."

—Steve Chapple

Steve Chapple is co-author of *Rock 'n' Roll Is Here to Pay*, to be published this spring by Nelson-Hall.

TELEVISION

'Visions' threatened by bias in favor of BBC

When PBS premiered its TV-drama "Visions" last October it aroused memories of the golden age of the '50s when Philco-Goodyear, the U.S. Steel Hour and Playhouse 90 discovered and nurtured the talents of artists like Paddy Chayevsky and Arthur Penn.

Thirteen plays were projected for the first season, and 24 more were promised—a total of 36 productions spread over three years. The prospectus for the series stipulated that priority would be given the work of new writers, that drama written especially for the medium would be encouraged (adaptations of all kinds were ruled out), and that artists from non-profit professional theaters would be involved in various aspects of the productions.

Producer Barbara Schultz has honored that commitment. Six of the first 13 plays were written by women or minority group playwrights, which may account for the overall radical tone of the series. Some of the more highly charged plots have been Harvey Perr's play about lesbianism, "The War Widow;" Luis Valdez's "El Corrido," which dealt with farm worker organization; Momoko Iko's "The Gold Watch," depicting the plight of Japanese-Americans before and after their internment in World War II; and Cormac MacCarthy's drama of class hatreds in the new Old South (1870), "The Gardener's Son."

Outstanding successes of the series to date have been Ethel Tyne's "The Great Cherub Knitwear Strike," a funny and genuinely moving account of a Depression love affair between a young Jewish factory worker and her Communist boyfriend; and Jean Sherherd's piece of '40s nostalgia, "The Phantom of the Open Hearth."

As refreshing as the series' subject matter has been the appearance of fine actors like Alan Arkin, Judd Hirsch, and Stephen Elliott in roles that let them break out of the mold of their regular cop/doc dramas. Also there have been many new faces in leading roles. And such important tributary theaters as Maya Angelou's black ensemble have been involved, as the prospectus promised they would be.

The series has been uneven. But the best of "Visions" has been good enough to prove that Americans need not depend on Masterpiece Theater and other BBC products for first rate dramatic entertainment on television.

In this context, it was bad news

for audiences as well as for theater professionals that the Corporation for Public Broadcasting (which had supplied most of "Visions'" \$10.2 million budget) found itself "unable" to continue its contribution into the third season. The other underwriters (the Ford Foundation and the National Endowment for the Arts) were willing to meet their pledges. But unless someone else picked up the tab, "Visions" would have to close down at the end of its second year.

There were angry charges (from the left) that CPB was yielding to political pressure (from the right). And when it became known that CPB was using a million American tax dollars to help the BBC finance the taping of all Shakespeare's plays (with British casts and crews), the entertainment unions joined the chorus of protest.

Some investigative reporting turned up the astonishing fact that out of \$103 million Congress appropriated last year, a mere \$13.3 million was budgeted for productions.

Both CPB and PBS were created by the Broadcasting Act of 1967, which defined the function of each. The former was to give administrative leadership and capital investment, while the latter was to produce programs for the network of public stations. But this division of labor clearly was not working, since the bulk of the budget was going into the salaries of overlapping and probably overstuffed bureaucracies.

Last week, CPB had second thoughts about its decision to renege. The official explanation has been that it is agency policy not to subsidize any program for longer than two years. (After that station-users are supposed to come up with the production money.) But exceptions to that policy have had to be made in the case of such programs as the nightly McNeill-Lehrer news report, and at this time it appears that "Visions" is going to get at least another million out of CPB.

The future of this series is not entirely secure. There is still a missing million to be raised in other quarters, and it is possible that large corporate foundations will shy away from so expensive a hot potato. But there is at least a fighting chance that the vision of good dramatic entertainment by, about, and for the natives of this nation will not be dispelled by bureaucratic shortsightedness.

—Al Auster

Al Auster is a free-lance writer who lives in New York.

THE KID'S CORNER

IN THESE TIMES has received so much comment on our reviews of TV by young viewers that we are considering enlarging the staff of that department. To attract new reviewers, under 15 years of age, we are announcing a contest—without prize—for the best three letters (under 500 words) on the topic "What's Wrong, and What's Right about TV for Kids."

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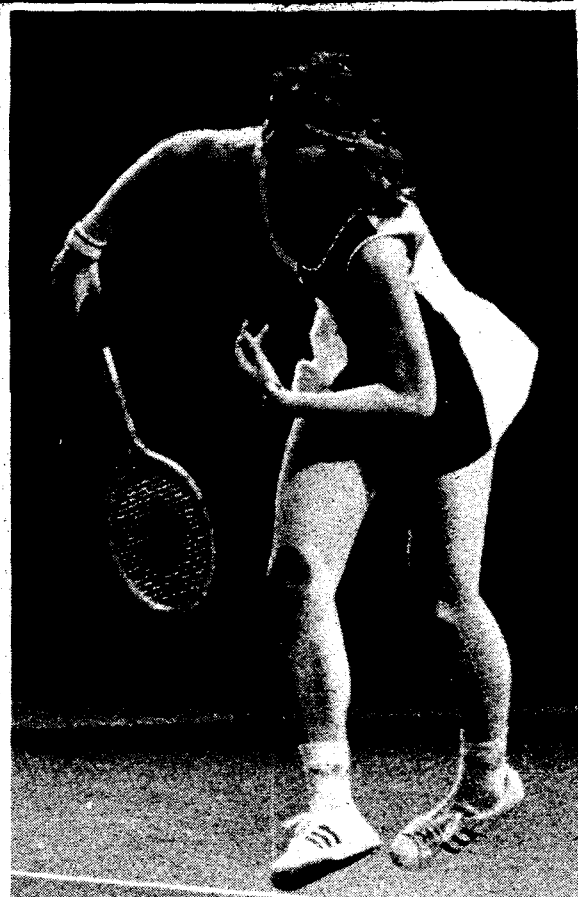
JEWISH CURRENTS March issue: Pete Seeger Music—Ber Green Text—"The Embers of the Martyrs (For Jewish Music Month); "The Jewish Question and the Holocaust-2" by Bruno Frei, Austrian Marxist; For International Women's Day—Stories and Articles by Marcia Epstein, Sonya Michel, Florence Rein, Elsie Suller; "The Daoud Affair"—Editorial; News, Reviews, Editor's Diary by Morris U. Schappes. Single copies 60¢, Subscriptions \$7.50 yearly USA. Jewish Currents, Dept. T, 22 East 17 St., N.Y.C. 10003.—SPECIAL: The Memorandum on Jewish Question to Soviet Leaders, discussed by Max Gordon in No. 7 & I.T.T. is available in full in our Dec. issue—60¢.



Olga Morozova, top Soviet player



Kristien Shaw, who taught Chris Evert to serve harder



Natasha Chmyreva, rising Russian star

Photos by Jane Melnick

They've come a long way, but

Don't call them "baby" anymore

By Janet Stevenson

After all the palaver about women having "come a long way, baby" because there is a cigarette designed especially for them, it's nice to discover that the slogan has been realized in a sense that the ad copywriters could hardly have had in mind.

The traveling tennis tournaments, sponsored by Virginia Slims cigarettes, which began in Houston in 1970 with a piddling \$7,500 in prize money, have expanded into the major sports event of the winter season: week-long tournaments in 11 cities, involving over 100 players from 13 countries, with \$100,000 in prizes (per tournament), climaxing in late March in the Virginia Slims Championship in Madison Square Garden, with \$150,000 in prize money. Crowds for the 1977 season are breaking all attendance records.

What's the attraction?

The sport itself, of course. Tennis is on the way to becoming the great American participatory sport, one that is played by both men and women, together or separately; differently, but equally well. The women on the Slims circuit are the world's best, and the fans who watch the final rounds are seeing tennis as good as that played at Wimbledon or Forest Hills.

The astonishing success of the Slims is also due in part to the personal charisma of the athletes. They are a new breed—or at least a subspecies of a new breed—of woman. It's not easy to pin down the essential quality of this group, which is so diverse in physique, national origin, education, outside interests and economic or social class.

One thing is sure: whatever Ms. Virginia Slims of 1977 is, she is *not* the cartoon flapper of the Slims ads, with her cigarette holder in one hand, and her racket (poorly gripped) in the other. None of the women players, so far as we could observe, smokes—with or without a holder.

The "typical" tour player is a woman between 18 and 32 years old; married and unmarried; with and without children; accompanied and not accompanied by a husband or fiancé; a native of one of the socialist countries, or segregationist South Africa, or France, Italy, England, Australia or the United States. She has achieved her proficiency thanks to a well-to-do family that paid for lessons and equipment; or at the expense of the state; or free, because her father (or mother) was a tennis pro.

►What's womanly?

What is significantly new about these women and what the majority have in common is a set of characteristics that are not traditionally feminine, and would never get a girl elected cheerleader, prom queen

or Miss America, but which win them the admiration of today's sports fans.

First and most obvious is a high level of energy. Successful competitors throw everything they have—whether it's 160 pounds of Betty Stove (6'1"), or 115 pounds of Kristien Shaw (5'6")—into

fortless even when it isn't. Her victories are too much a foregone conclusion to please a public that likes a little suspense. But she is the role model for all young aspirants. To be like Chrissie—unflappable, unbeatable, and unpretentious—is "it" for the Greenies (the young players from

don't know when she's outclassed, so she ends up outclassing them. I'll lay you four-to-one she'll take the Aussie." Rosie didn't take Margaret that night. But she did (with Chris Evert, in doubles) the next.

►Cordial and comradely.

There is also something new about the relationships between these fiercely competitive individuals: they are cordial and comradely, but never sentimental. So long as they are playing a match, the women fight like gladiators, neither giving nor expecting quarter. But once the last point has been played, they discuss their performances in post-game interviews as impersonally as if they had been observing instead of participating.

They obviously like each other; enjoy each other's company in what leisure time the tour permits; help each other professionally when they can. More experienced players sometimes coach the newer ones, but they do not coddle or play down to them. An instance: when the young Rumanian star Virginia Ruzici developed a leg cramp in a match with Casals, Rosie helped her rub it out and then went back, drove the ball first to one corner of the back court, and then dropped a short shot over the net on the other side. Virginia had to run like an antelope. They kidded about it in front of reporters afterwards. "I just wanted to make sure you were all right," Rosie said.

►Who's coaching whom?

Sometimes the lower-seeded players offer advice to their "betters." And it is sometimes taken. Chris Evert gives her friend Kristien Shaw credit for the new and very aggressive Evert service.

Chrissie's service has always been dependable, but it was seldom unreturnable. "I was brought up to believe that the purpose of a serve was to open up the point," she explained to reporters in Chicago last month. "That's clay court tactics. Even now when I go home, my father asks why I want to serve this new way. But Kristien showed me that I wasn't extending my arm quite all the way. I had more power than I was using."

Chrissie used the new serve to cut short Kristien's climb up the ladder when she beat her 6-0, 6-1.

They've come a long way, but don't call them "baby" anymore. ■

LIFE IN THE U.S.

SPORTS



Chrissie, the great.



Rosie, in costume.

Photos by Henrietta Moore

stroke after powerful stroke. There is nothing weak or delicate or dependent about them, and no one seems to feel that they have sacrificed any of their charm by asserting their strength.

No one wins friends in the stands by displays of uncontrolled emotion. On the contrary! When Natasha Chmyreva, the 19-year-old Soviet *wunderkind*, lost her temper in a match in Seattle, she was written off as "unsuited to the game because of her temperament" in a press interview given by another player. And when she developed stomach cramps in a match with Julie Anthony in Chicago, she was accused of "grubby gamesmanship." Not until she was teamed with Olga Morozova, the other Russian player, who is much more even tempered, did Natasha hear another round of applause for her spectacular shots.

►Beauty is no excuse.

Slims audiences tend to cheer for the underdog, or the shorter player, or the hometown girl if there is one. But all else being equal, they react to character in its most solid aspects. Beauty—whether face, figure, or garb—is not its own excuse for being on the court.

If Chris Evert is not the most applauded player, it's probably because she seems to "have it too easy." Her game looks ef-

the local scene who are recruited for ball retrieving and errand running).

►"Rosie is my darling, O!"

The darling of the crowds (at least in Chicago) is Rosie Casals, who is about as glamorous as the Indian on the old buffalo nickel. Tough, gnarled and poker-faced, (with a practical joker's sense of humor off the court), at 5'2" Rosie is too short to be a single's champion, but she is probably the best doubles player in women's tennis. Fans—men especially—react to her with the sort of loyalty once inspired by the Brooklyn Dodgers.

The night Rosie was matched against the great Margaret Court (who has won more tournaments than any other player in the history of the game), we overheard a discussion between the employees of a company that had taken a box for the week. These were typical hockey fans by the sound of things, and when Rosie came out in one of her inexplicably fancy ensembles (silver lamé on blue velvet with plenty of rhinestones and a matching headband tied Tonto-style) the men whistled.

One of the wives made a comment, inaudible but presumably disparaging. "Listen," said her husband, "never mind if her legs are only half an inch long. She covers that court, and I mean all of it! She

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